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Vol 87

1951

THE
ESSEX INSTITUTE
HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

VOL. LXXXVII—1951

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SALEM, MASS.

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VOL. LXXXVII—JANUARY, 1951

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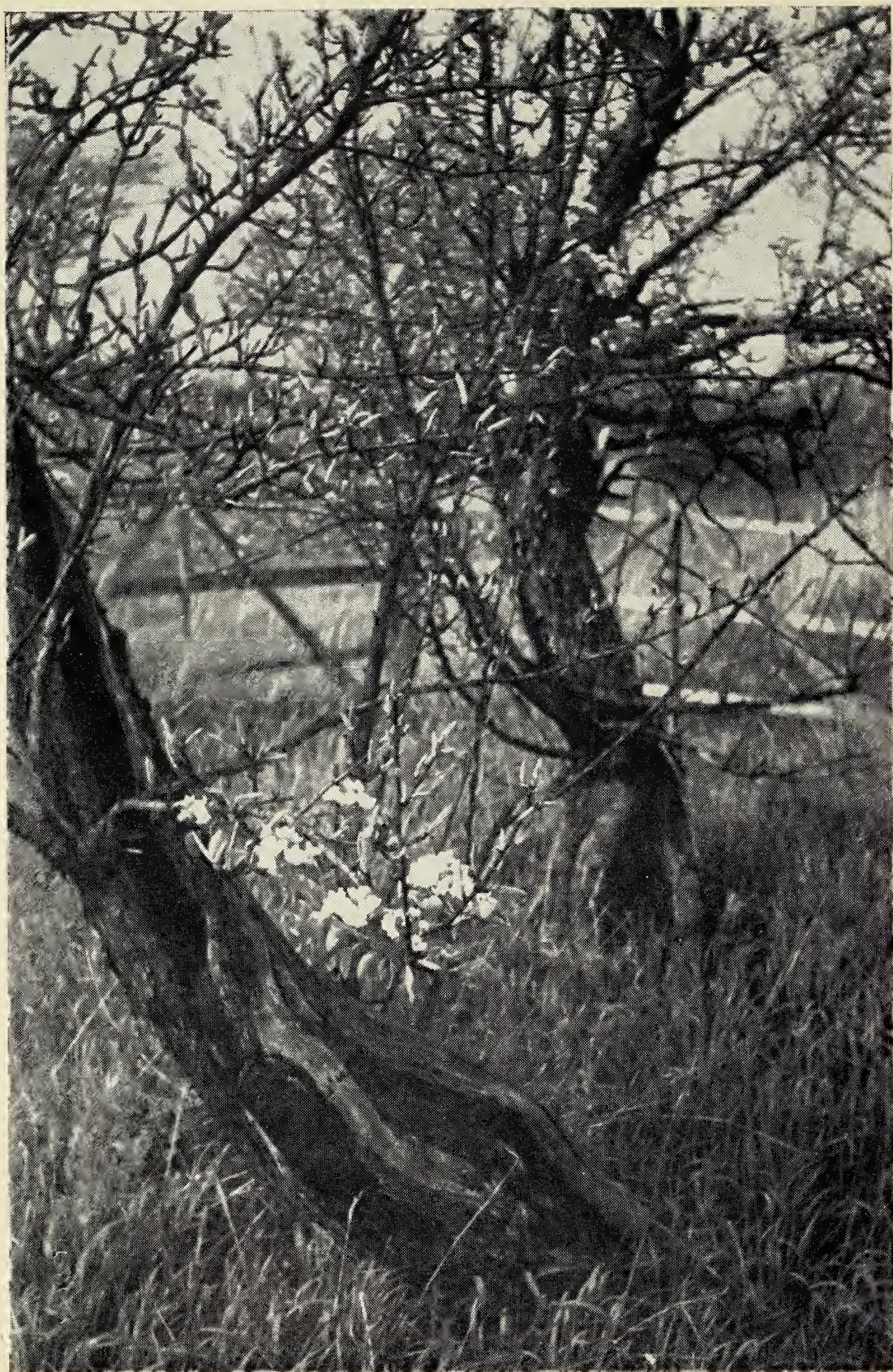
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BLOSSOMS ON THE ENDECOTT PEAR TREE, 1950

All photographs made by Warren Wentworth

ESSEX INSTITUTE

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

VOL. LXXXVII JANUARY, 1951

No. 1

THE ENDECOTT SPRING AND PEAR TREE

A VISIT TO THE ORCHARD FARM IN 1950

By IDA FORD GOUGH

In contrast to the French who were content to take the wilderness as they found it that they might hunt the better and traffic in furs, the English came to these shores to colonize. Two factors were essential to the choosing of a suitable location for a town, "good ayer and water." Such instruction was given by the Massachusetts Bay Company in England to the leaders of expeditions beyond the Seas. Always they must remember:

"—where you intend to set down in, to fortyfie and build a Towne, that it may bee qualified for good ayer and water."

Charles I granted patents of government to the various companies, the Plymouth, the Dorchester, and the Massachusetts Bay, while winking at the fact that they were running away from the autocracy of the Church of England. More fundamental to him, they were extending the kingdom of Britain. He could revoke their patents at any time. Other men and women could be sent to carry out the sovereign's will. Of this the colonists early became aware and it was their first cause for fortification. With the above formula in mind, Captain John Endecott, his wife, Anna Gower Endecott, and a band of Puritans sailed from Weymouth, England, in the *Abigail*, June 20, 1628. A whole summer at sea gave time for dreaming of the green vegetables they would raise and then were doing without, for not until September 6, 1628, did Cap-

tain Endecott and his party set foot on soil at Naumkeag. Their gardens must wait until another spring, but many of their number before then would be gone.

Those coming to New England shores yet had to learn the wisdom of sailing early in the spring that they might have the summer here to "get set" in comfort for the rigors of winter. It would seem that word must have gone abroad how ill-fated had been the Pilgrim group, landing inadvertently in December at Plymouth, and how most of them had died that first winter.

The Endecott party coming in the *Abigail*, with presumably other ships, was doing much better. They had an advantage of three months, but still were too late. Just what the new governor did for a home those first few months, and about how long it would take Richard Brackenbury and a few others to take down a fair-sized house at Cape Ann, load it on a ship, transport it to Naumkeag, and rebuild the structure for the chief magistrate's home, is problematical.

Roger Conant and the nine other planters of the losing Dorchester Company, who were in possession of the settlement at Naumkeag, hardly could be expected to show friendliness to the newcomers. They had arrived with powers to supplant them. Governor Endecott was newly appointed by the Massachusetts Bay Company who had bought the patent of the Dorchester Company. The planters' small dwellings were cramped for room, even for their own families. Where did the new people stay? September can be cold. Whatever their makeshift provision, it proved inadequate to cope with climatic conditions, growing increasingly severe.

The house at Cape Ann had been erected for Roger Conant, governor of the Dorchester Company, and given up when the project there failed. It had become the property of the Massachusetts Bay Company and was ordered to be removed to Naumkeag for the new governor's use. The center of John Endecott's community was to be located further up the river than the settlement the planters had chosen.

His two-story gabled house was erected on the spot,



HOUSE BUILT ON THE ORCHARD FARM ABOUT 1680 BY GOVERNOR ENDECOTT'S SONS
It is still standing

now the southeast corner of where Washington and Federal Streets meet. However great the immediate need for the house, the building was set up for stability. As the cold intensified, snows deepened, the corn supply dwindled, and few either were able or could take time from caring for the sick to fish or hunt, times were critical. First one sickened and died, then another, until the situation became alarming. There was a doctor in Plymouth. If only they could get word through to him! Governor Endecott's wife became ill. The husband, determined that Dr. Samuel Fuller must be persuaded to come from Plymouth, was successful in getting him to make the journey. "He ministered to the sick and proved of signal service." When at last Governor Endecott, saw the body of his own beloved wife lowered into the soil of this new land, he found courage from the faith of the Pilgrims in Plymouth to help carry on.

Spring came like resurrection to the disheartened and hungry Puritans of Naumkeag. Planting began as early as the soil could be worked, and the men behind the ploughs found new hope as the brown clods of earth turned over to the beneficial forces of the sun. There was strength-giving power in the smell of freshly opened ground. More ships would come now on the favorable winds. The colony at Naumkeag would have reinforcements from England.

They needed ministers for their sick souls, cattle for beef and for clearing the woods. They needed sheep for mutton, swine for pork, cows and goats for milk, men to chop trees for building and for fuel, women to make homes, and children to gladden their hearts. Horses would come in time. Wind, one of the most powerful of forces let loose upon the earth, was a potent expression of the "good ayer" which so affected the lives of the early settlers. It required certain winds to drive the ships, to bring them and their various needed supplies across the ocean. Wind and its ally, Time, controlled to a large extent the success or failure of any expedition across the

seas. Rarely was there a voyage without loss of life, both of human beings and of the lower animals.

Sailing ships were not commodious places on which to live from eighty days to three months at a time. As many as forty sheep have been known to perish on one trip. The death-rate of animals in crossing explains to a certain extent the shortage of meat among the colonists during those earliest years.

Favorable winds brought six ships with the Rev. Francis Higginson and company of three hundred planters to Naumkeag June 30, 1629. Two hundred remained. The others sailed on to build a town called Charlestown, and there were a few passengers for the Plymouth colony. In the fleet was a ship with animals and stores. Here at last was an expedition arriving in the glorious month of June, revealing the paradise that New England can be. Mr. Higginson wrote home in the most glowing terms of the treasure abounding in this new world. Governor Endecott had every reason to feel that the tide of greatest hardship for him had turned. With the new expedition had come the Rev. Samuel Skelton, former pastor, spiritual adviser and friend of Endecott. Mr. Skelton was to become pastor of the Salem church as soon as one could be organized.

More significant than the coming of dear friends was the arrival in New England of the Patent and Charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company signed by Charles I, 4 March, 1629. A parchment document in four large sections, it is now under glass and frame hanging on the wall in the fire-proof vault of the Essex Institute. This instrument was the Magna Charta on which the government of the Massachusetts Bay Company was founded. It made John Endecott governor for one year from the day he was to take the oath of office. And now that magistrates had arrived he could be sworn in. Here was authority to make laws.

The Charter was made in duplicate, one of which remained in England to be brought over at the end of Endecotts' one-year term by his successor, John Winthrop. The precious document was entrusted on the voyage to



ENDECOTT SPRING NEAR THE PEAR TREE

the keeping of Samuel Sharpe who was the personal agent of Matthew Craddock, governor in England for the Massachusetts Bay Company. Thomas Goffe was the deputy governor there.

When Governor John Winthrop arrived the following year to take over control of the colony, there were seventeen ships with a thousand or more people of good standing to come during the summer. The new governor and party were greeted at Naumkeag by John Endecott who invited them ashore. In the Endecott house they feasted on venison pie and good beer. The visitor did not come empty handed. Knowing Captain Endecott to be a husbandman of ability, he brought to Endecott according to tradition a young sugar-pear tree in a container, which was placed in the ground of the yard near the house until a better place could be found.

Winthrop did not tarry long at Salem, but before leaving he presented his host to Elizabeth Gibson who had come over with his party. On August 18, 1630, Captain Endecott and Elizabeth Gibson were married.

Anywhere along the coast there was "good ayer," but to find pure water required searching. A good spring of life-giving water has been rated among the world's great essentials since the beginning of time. The Bible refers to living waters, and who can say that a spring issuing water out of the ground continuously for more than three hundred years is not, in another sense, living water, too?

While Governor Winthrop's settlers were trying to make Charlestown their home and found it unworkable there without good water, Captain Endecott felt secure in the discovery he had made of two eternal springs on a gentle slope of land up the river and around the bend about three miles from his "fayre" house in Naumkeag. Until a grant could be issued to him by the General Court he must wait. There was little doubt but that the property would be his and the year he was married he planted an orchard of pear trees within a stone's throw of one spring.

In the meantime a never-failing spring at Shawmut across the Charles from Charlestown was playing a his-

toric role in the settlement of America. William Blackstone, a man living alone on the hillside invited the disappointed folks at Charlestown to come over and share his spring. They became his neighbors and were so well pleased that it was agreed on Sept. 7, 1630, to call the town Boston.

It was not until July 3, 1632, that the General Court granted John Endecott three hundred acres of land between the two tidal rivers, the Duck and the Cow-House rivers in what is now Danversport. On the crest of the southern slope the Endecotts built a new home and the Orchard farm not only became a delightful place for their summer residence, but a successful business venture. Edward Grover remembered years after the clearing began that he and others working on the project nailed together thousands of thin brush-trees to form a high pallisade enclosing the property against wolves, Indians or other prowlers.

One spring remains in Danversport today, more than three hundred years after its waters relieved the thirst of the Commonwealth's first governor, when on a hot day in Naumkeag, he would sail in his shallop up the river and come to anchor just a few yards from this spring which lay almost in his path on the way to the Orchard farm house. The other spring, just beyond, was piped several years ago.

By April, 1644, the proprietor of Orchard farm had trees to send to Governor Winthrop, and wrote to that effect, but advising that they be not removed until the latter part of the year.

Tradition tells us that the two young sons, John, Jr., aged 12, and Zerubbabel, 9, with their hair blowing in the wind, were romping over the acres one day that spring. They had been given a job at raking, perhaps, and glancing down the wide field thought of a quicker way. The long dry grass was soon crackling madly. Flames spread in all directions for the wind seized burning clumps of leaves and dropped them hither and yon. Men ran from the cow-house and barn. They whipped out spots of fire nearest the house, and thanked God the wind was



THE ENDECOTT PEAR TREE, 1950



THE ENDECOTT PEAR TREE, 1950

sweeping towards the river. But five hundred budding fruit trees had been destroyed.

Later that year or the next spring Captain Endecott planted five hundred apple trees. When the saplings had three years' growth they were sold to William Trask. The fire did not reach at least one sugar-pear tree for it stands today as it has done for three centuries still carrying the Endecott tradition. The Endecott boys found plenty of adventure on these grounds. They regarded the Orchard farm as their permanent place of residence, and parts of the original grant remained in their family until a few years ago.

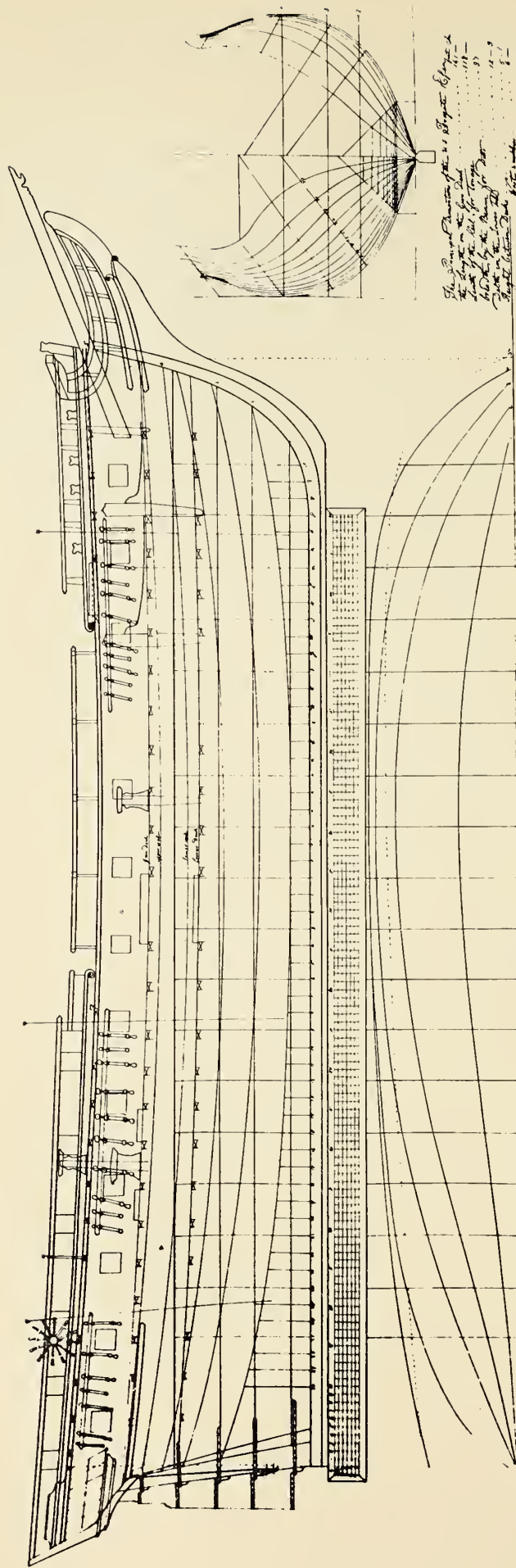
The spring most used by the early proprietors is located at the foot of the long stone wall, leading from the street to the marsh. Although it needs cleaning out, Mr. R. J. Simard, the present owner, declares the water to be "the best in the world." To prove his theory he uses it to fill his batteries.

It is doubtful if human beings would care to drink from the spring in its present state, although narrow paths leading through the grass, or radiating from various directions to the spot indicate that something comes there regularly to drink. Dogs, perhaps, and other animals. Residents in the neighborhood say that pheasants are often seen. Besides there are rabbits and woodchucks. One might suggest that the spring be deepened, cleaned and walled in with stones where ferns and moss would like to grow, a restoration of its original state.

It quickens the heart of one looking upon the ancient tree to perceive it still full of promise. The gnarled body is eternally young, standing up to the rigors of New England winters, and spring sends new sap coursing through its trunks and branches. Each year, the pear tree sprouts new shoots. Buds swell and blossom and the green leaves of summer are ever fresh. In October of 1950, the patriarch produced between seventy-five and a hundred pears, fruit of Governor Endecott's tree just as America today is the product of the first governor's charter.

The topography of the Orchard farm has changed little within the past one hundred and fifty years, for in Sep-

tember of 1796, Dr. William Bentley was intrigued by this lone pear tree to the extent of mentioning in his diary that "there is only one tree left, which bears the sugar pear." The house of the Endecott family which stood in back of the pear tree had gone even then, although the cellar-hole remained to prove its location. This pear-tree has seen the Commonwealth grow from shallop to jet propulsion, from battery to A bomb which threatens the destruction of civilization. That the Massachusetts Bay Company of New England was intent upon a greater purpose than setting up a plantation for profit, time has proved.



The Present Position of the U.S. Frigate Essex
 The Frigate on the Sea and
 at anchor in the Port of New York
 at anchor in the Port of New York
 at anchor in the Port of New York
 at anchor in the Port of New York
 at anchor in the Port of New York
 at anchor in the Port of New York

LINES OF THE UNITED STATES FRIGATE, ESSEX

From Naval Documents in Washington, D. C., published in Capt. Dudley Knox's Documents on the Barbary Wars.

THE CAREER OF THE FRIGATE ESSEX

By CHARLES C. BASSETT

INTRODUCTION

The tragic defeat of the American frigate *Essex* by a superior British force in the neutral waters of Chile aroused my curiosity about her previous role in naval affairs. In that engagement she put up probably the most violent fight of the War of 1812, and it was only after tremendous losses and a courageous defense that her captain surrendered. I wondered why the crew stood so steadfastly by their captain and ship, suffering ignominious defeat in distant waters, against great odds even after the situation seemed hopeless to almost everyone aboard.

The *Essex* was involved in most areas of active naval operations from 1798 to 1815. Her activities therefore illustrate the problems and purpose of the Navy as a whole during that period. She was closely connected with our merchant shipping and often rendered our commerce very valuable protection. The problems that faced her officers and crew are typical of our sailing Navy, and their spirit reflects that of the citizens of our country during its infancy.

General works on naval history usually mention her last battle, but that is all except perhaps to list her occasionally as part of a squadron. No one has written the complete story of the *Essex*, describing her construction, telling of the life aboard her, and evaluating her service. Yet she rendered almost as great a contribution to her country as her contemporaries, the frigates *Constellation* and the *Constitution*, about whom so much has been written and collected. The *Essex* is also a symbol of the great growth of the American merchant marine and Navy during the Napoleonic Wars in Europe, and their near-destruction by a much larger and more powerful British naval force during the War of 1812.

In discussing the career of the *Essex* I have generally taken events in chronological order and used a straight

narrative method to recount the *Essex's* history. I have concentrated on her activities when she was operating alone, and the role she played when part of a squadron has not been described to any extent. General comments have been made on her overall value to American naval operations, and the background material on the political and military aspects of American history have been introduced only to the extent necessary to make clear the larger objectives of United States naval policy.

I feel that the *Essex* deserves to be ranked among the great sailing ships of our Navy for her convoy work, her diplomatic and tactical effects on maritime affairs, her direct contribution to the American assault on enemy shipping in the War of 1812, and lastly for the gallant fight which concluded her career in the American Navy.

THE BUILDING OF THE SALEM FRIGATE

The French Revolution in 1791 ushered in a period of twenty-five years of almost constant war in Europe. Naval warfare was commonplace and carried the European wars all over the world. Our young Republic, which had just adopted the Constitution, was struggling to establish economic and political stability under the financial measures of Alexander Hamilton and the able leadership of George Washington. Peace was needed for the American union to survive, but the European wars and diplomacy constantly threatened the security of our nation and endangered our commerce. They caused a split among the leaders of our country with the Federalists, who were pro-British, being led by Hamilton and the Republicans, who were pro-French, being led by Jefferson. The people of the maritime areas were generally Federalist while the landed and slaveholding interests were mainly Republicans.

By the time John Adams was inaugurated President (1797) the commerce of the United States was subject to almost daily annoyance from the British and French ships of war. The British claimed the right to search for British subjects on ships flying the American flag. Our relations with the French had been strained due to our

strict neutrality which Washington set forth in his proclamation of 22 April 1793. He declared that the United States will "pursue a conduct friendly and impartial toward the belligerent powers," that American citizens engaging in contraband trade will not be protected by the government against punishment or forfeiture, and that the United States will prosecute all persons who violate the law of the nations.¹ The French Republic felt that we were obligated by a treaty of amity and commerce, and one of alliance signed in 1778 with the French monarchy, which had just been overthrown, to give more active support to their cause. The actions of the French Ambassador Gênet in trying to outfit privateers in American ports, and the X, Y, Z affair in which certain French officials wanted bribes in return for a treaty aroused an anti-French feeling in this country. The French in 1796 were capturing every vessel they could under the pretense that it was carrying contraband goods. In addition to the British and French actions, the Barbary powers were seizing our vessels and throwing their crews into captivity.

After the Revolution, our Navy Department had been disbanded in the interest of economy and naval affairs were handled by the War Department. Our Merchant Marine, however, had steadily expanded since the adoption of the Constitution, which brought about improved political and commercial stability at home. The European wars made it possible for American ships to become neutral carriers, and as a result we were enjoying a boom in ship-building. Our vessels were also trading with India, the Dutch East Indies, the Orient, and all the Americas. This expanding world trade was at the mercy of any hostile power, the only protection being that of the guns carried aboard the merchant ships. As a result the shipping interests demanded naval protection from the government for American ships on the high seas.

After eleven vessels were captured by the Algerians in 1793, Congress was stirred to action, and an act was

¹ Gardner W. Allen, *Our Naval War with France*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909), p. 3.

passed in 1794 providing for the building of six frigates. The work proceeded slowly due to a lack of funds and the fact that naval affairs were being handled by the War Department. Finally, early in 1797, Congress provided enough funds for the completing, manning, and equipping of three of the six frigates. Then on 27 April 1798, Congress passed an act authorizing the President "to cause to be built, purchased or hired, a number of vessels, not exceeding twelve nor carrying more than twenty-two guns each, to be armed, fitted out and manned under his direction."² Three days later the office of Secretary of the Navy was created and Benjamin Stoddert was appointed the first secretary. A new American Navy was born. After several other armament acts, on 30 June 1798, the act which enabled the *Essex* to be built was passed. This act allowed the President "to accept not exceeding twelve vessels of war on the credit of the United States, and to cause evidence of the debt to be given therefore, allowing an interest thereon not exceeding six per cent."³

In response to the above act the people of Salem, Massachusetts, opened a patriotic subscription in July of 1798 at the Salem Insurance Office. The type of vessel to be built was not specified, but soon the general feeling was that a frigate should be constructed. The people of Salem, who were mainly Federalists and dependent on maritime commerce, responded willingly to this call for money for naval protection, and the manner in which the resources of the town were mobilized for the speedy construction of a ship of war is of interest no less for social and economic reasons than for naval history. Salem at this time had a population of just over eight thousand people and by October the amount raised was \$74,700. This liberal subscription was made in a spirit of patriotism as the government was at that time seeking loans at eight per cent. The subscribers could have realized two per cent

2 Captain Dudley W. Knox, U.S.N., *Naval Documents related to the Quasi-War between the United States and France*, (Washington, 1935), February 1797 to October 1798, p. 58.

3 Captain George Henry Preble, U.S.N., *First Cruise of the United States Frigate Essex, Essex Institute Historical Collections*, (Salem, 1870), X, Part III, p. 49.

more by lending money to the government than by lending it to build a ship of war. A paper in Captain Water's handwriting and endorsed by an officer of the United States Loan Office of Massachusetts insuring payment contains a list of the subscribers with the amount each subscribed as follows:⁴

William Gray jr.	\$10,000	Thomas Saunders	500
Elias H. Derby	10,000	Abel Lawrence	500
William Orne	5,000	Hardy Ropes	200
John Norris	5,000	Tho's C. Cushing	50
John Jenks	1,500	E. H. Holyoke	800
Eben'r Bickford	2,000	Moses Townsend	100
Benja. Pickman	1,000	Timothy Wellman jr.	100
Stephen Webb	500	John Morong	50
Benja. Pickman jr.	1,500	Samuel Gray	\$2,000
Joseph Peabody	1,500	William Ward	500
John Osgood	1,000	Joshua Ward	750
William Prescott	1,000	Jonathon Neal	2,000
Ichabod Nichols	1,000	John Dalend	100
Benja. Carpenter	500	Joseph Newhall	100
Jacob Ashton	1,000	Michael Webb	100
James King	500	Edmund Gale	10
Thomas Perkins	500	Benja. Webb, jr.	100
John Murphy	500	Richard Manning	1,000
Joseph Cabot	500	Benja. Hodges	500
Edward Killen	100	John Becket	100
Esk'l H. Derby	1,000	James Gould	50
Jona, Mason	50	John Derby	1,000
Samuel Ropes jr.	50	Edward Allen jr.	500
Samuel Brooks	50	Page & Ropes	100
Asa Pierce	50	Lane & Son (in work)	100
Nathan Pierce	250	Enos Briggs	50
Upton & Porter	400	Eph'm Emerton	100
Buffum & Howard	450	Wm. Marston	250
Joseph Osgood jr.	25	Edward S. Long	100
Wm. Appleton	50	Tho's Webb	200
John Hawthorne	200	Walter P. Bartlett	100
Isaac Osgood	500	Israel Dodge	500
Elias H. Derby jr.	400	Sam'l Very	100
John Lambert	40	Brackley Rose	100
Henry Osborn	50	Asa Kethan	20
Joseph Miller	300	A Lady, by J Jenks	50
Benj. Goodhue	800	Edmund Upton	300
Nath'l Batchelder	50	Benj. West jr.	250
Daniel Jenks	500	Tho's Chipman	100
Samuel Archer	100	Rich'd Manning jr.	200
Joseph Vincent	200	David Patten	50
Joshua Richardson	500	E & J Sanderson	200
Joseph Mosely	100	John Treadwell	500
Wait & Pierce	2,000	John Barr	600

⁴ List of Subscribers for the Building of the *Essex*, *Essex Papers*, II, Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts.

Wm. Luscomb	300	Stephen Phillips	1,000
Jona. Waldo	40	Rich'd Derby jr.	1,500
Tho's Bancroft	100	Joseph Waters	415
Nath'l West	1,500	C. Crowninshield	500
Sam'l McIntire	100	John Pickering	200
Benj. Felt	100		
George Dodge	1,000		
Peter Lander	200		
			<hr/> \$74,700

The individual receipts for the subscription have been preserved also. In looking over the names, one will find that most of the wealthy people of Salem are represented, as are most of the people engaged in maritime industries. It was in cities like Salem, Newburyport, Norfolk, Boston, Baltimore, Charleston, New York, and Philadelphia that the citizens raised subscriptions to build ships of war at that time and supported the new Navy.

The actual decision to build a frigate was recorded in *The Salem Gazette* on Friday 26 October 1798.⁵

At a meeting in the Court House in this town on Tuesday evening last, of those gentlemen who have subscribed to build a ship for the service of the United States, it was voted unanimously to build a Frigate of thirty-two guns, and loan the same to the government; and Mr. Wm. Gray, Jr., John Norris and Jacob Ashton, Esqs., Capt. Benja. Hodges and Capt. Ichabod Nichols were chosen a committee to carry the vote into immediate effect.

Captain Joseph Waters, an experienced ship master, was named by the committee as its general agent; Colonel William Hackett of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, was selected to prepare the model and superintend the construction; and Mr. Enos Briggs, a well known and competent ship builder of Salem, was appointed master builder. In addition, Captain Waters was appointed, 23 February, by Benjamin Stoddert, the Secretary of the Navy, to superintend the building and equipment of the frigate being built at Salem. The first instructions sent to Captain Waters along with his appointment concerned how much water the ship was to carry and the type of cask. The instructions first called for a supply, if possible, for two hundred and twenty men for six months.

⁵ *The Salem Gazette*, XII, 754, 26 October 1798.

However, if more room were needed for provisions, a supply of four months was sufficient. This supply was to be based on the calculation of one gallon per day for each man.⁶ That the Secretary of the Navy considered this matter in his first letter illustrates the importance that was attached to the planning of an adequate water supply when building a sailing ship before the days of double bottoms and evaporators.

The actual laying of the keel of the frigate was not until 13 April 1799. During the course of the winter, however, preparations were made for starting the work when spring came. The timber, which was mostly white oak, was cut and hauled into Salem from the nearby towns of Danvers, Topsfield, Boxford, and Andover. Once the keel was laid the work proceeded rapidly, and the *Essex* was launched at Winter Island near Fort Pickering on 30 September 1799, just five months and seventeen days after the laying of her keel. The following account of the launching is taken from *The Salem Gazette*:⁷

Yesterday the Frigate *Essex*, of thirty-two guns, was launched from the Stocks in this town. She went into the water with the most easy and graceful motion, amidst the acclamation of thousands of spectators, and a federal salute from her guns on the hill, returned by an armed ship in the harbour commanded by Captain Thomas Williams. The Committee acting for the subscribers, Colonel Hackett, the superintendent, and Mr. Briggs, the master builder, have thus the satisfaction of producing to their country as fine a ship of her size as graces the American Navy. It is not yet known who will command her, but all hands agreed that she is well calculated to do essential service to her country.

Thousands were reported to have come down to admire her at her launching and prior to her departure from Salem. She must have been a noble sight indeed, to those who saw her, with her fine lines and three towering masts lying at anchor among the awkward merchant ships.

⁶ Letter to Capt. Waters from Benjamin Stoddard, *Essex Papers*, V.

⁷ *The Salem Gazette*, XIII, 851, Tuesday, October 1, 1799.

The dimensions and tonnage of the *Essex*, when she was launched, were as follows:⁸

Length of the gun deck	141 ft.
Length of the keel	118 ft.
Breadth of beam	37 ft.
Depth of hold	12 ft. 8 in.
Deck to lower deck	5 ft. 9 in.
Height of waist	6 ft.
Height of quarter-deck	6 ft. 3 in.
Tonnage	850 21/9 5 tons (long tons)

Exactly what the original dimensions of the masts and spars of the *Essex* were is not known. In Captain Waters' papers there is a memorandum giving the specifications for the mast and spars for a ship building in Salem. These figures differ from those in a memorandum in the handwriting of Captain Edward Preble. Probably the dimensions were changed during the actual rigging or were changed by Captain Preble during his first cruise. Both sets of figures are listed below:

Dimensions	Captain Waters' Papers ⁹	Preble's Memorandum ¹⁰
Mainmast	84 ft. to work 27 in.	85 ft.
Foremast	78 ft. to work 25½ in.	75½ ft.
Mizzenmast	74 ft. to work 19 in.	71½ ft.
Main topmast	56 ft.	55 ft.
Fore topmast	53 ft.	51 ft.
Mizzen topmast	40 ft.	40 ft.
Bowsprit	54 ft.	54 ft.
Main Yard	84 ft.	80 ft.
Fore Yard	72 ft.	72 ft.

It is of interest to note some of the prices paid for the materials and labor that went into the construction of the *Essex*. The prices paid for lumber varied during the winter. One receipt in Captain Waters' papers was for 3,824 feet of clear boards for \$61.18, which is at a rate

⁸ *Essex Papers*, I.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ George Preble, *Essex*, p. 13.

of \$16.00 per thousand.¹¹ Another receipt for payment from Nathan Pierce was based on a rate of \$12.50 per thousand. Samuel McIntire, a famous architect around Salem, turned in a bill of \$410 for carving work, which probably was mainly for the figure head.¹² The prices paid for labor according to a notation of Captain Waters were: common laborer, \$1.00 per day; joiners, \$1.25 per day; and carpenters, \$1.50 per day.¹³

The sails were made at a price of \$15.75 by the firm of Buffum and Howard from Russian duck manufactured expressly for the purpose at Daniel Rust's factory, which was located on Broad Street. Evidently the sails were of excellent quality as it was noticed that the *Essex* never sailed so well as she did with her first suit of sails. The iron work was done by Alden Briggs. William Gray supervised the making of the cordage, which was done at three different rope walks. William Luscomb did the painting and plumbing, and the Salem Iron Factory cast the anchors for the *Essex*.¹⁴ The rigging was made by Captain Jonathan Harraden at his factory on Brown Street,¹⁵ and as she was rigged in the winter it later caused considerable trouble as the rigging became dangerously slack in warm weather.

The final cost of the *Essex*, which was destined to do great service for her country, was \$154,687.77. This figure seems large compared to the original subscription, but it includes the cost of building, armament, twelve months provisions, and extra sails, spars, and anchors. An itemized account of the cost, in Captain Waters' handwriting, indicates how the over all cost was broken down:¹⁶

11 *Essex Papers*, I.

12 Bill of Samuel McIntire, *Essex Papers*, III, Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts.

13 Receipt, *Essex Papers*, I.

14 *Essex Papers*, II.

15 Gilbert L. Streeter, *Essex Institute Proceedings*, (Salem, 1848), II, 77.

16 Abstract of Materials Wrought and Unwrought for Building and Equipment on Account of Essex Frigate, *Essex Papers*, I.

	Dollars	Cents
Constructor	\$ 921	54
Building Carpenter's Bill	26,616	64
Iron Work Blacksmith	8,371	94
Cordage	10,075	3
Painting and Plumbing	2,256	35
Carving	410	
Duck for one complete suit of sails	3,731	74
Anchors	1,081	2
Copper Bolts	4,339	5
Sailmakers for making sails	730	24
Hire of tradesmen	2,735	36
J. W.'s account of sundries which includes spars, blocks, etc.	12,723	91
Commission on \$73,493.72 at 2%	1,479	87
TOTAL		\$75,473.59

The above is the cost of the *Essex* with one complete set of sails and copper fastened, but not coppered. The expense of putting on the copper was included in the foregoing.

Amount of Ordinance, Military Stores and Kentledge	\$31,992.76
Amount of Ships Stores	12,709.14
Amount of Provisions	12,304.52
Slop Clothing	3,868.79
Hospital Stores	526.20
	<hr/> 62,401.46
Sundries for extra suit of sails, spars, anchors, duck, cables, labor and commission	16,812.72
	<hr/> \$154,687.77

Thus one of the greatest frigates of our early Navy, which was to do such excellent service in the Naval War with France, the War with the Barbary Corsairs, and the War of 1812, was built and rigged. Great credit goes to the builders of such a fine ship which according to her first captain, Edward Preble of Portland, Maine, was the fastest sailer in the Navy and of fine construction and arrangement for a ship of war.¹⁷

17 G. Preble, *First Cruise of the Essex*, p. 18.

FIRST CRUISE OF THE ESSEX

The command of the *Essex* was first offered to Captain Waters by the Secretary of the Navy, but he declined the honor due to the pressure of domestic obligations. The committee for building her then recommended Captain Richard Derby, but as he was absent in Europe, Captain Edward Preble, of Portland, Maine, was put in command. The Secretary of the Navy ordered him to prepare the *Essex* for sea and to command her in the event of her being ready before Captain Derby's return from Europe on 21 October 1799.¹⁸ The order was promptly accepted, and Captain Preble wrote from Salem on 7 November that he had taken charge of the *Essex*. He reported that she was completely rigged, had all her ballast on board, and her stock of water almost loaded. Captain Preble felt he could have her ready for sea in thirty days if he could get the recruiting finished.¹⁹

Recruiting offices were opened at once in Salem, Boston, and Cape Ann. Meanwhile the equipment of the vessel was hurried forward. Benjamin Stoddert, the Secretary of the Navy, authorized the *Essex* to have a First Lieutenant, Second Lieutenant, Third Lieutenant, Purser, one Surgeon's Mate, one Chaplain, one Sailing Master, one Boatswain, one Gunner, one Sailmaker, one Carpenter, and twelve Midshipmen for officers. The petty officers allowed were two Master's mates two Boatswain's Mates, eight Quarter gunners, two Cooper's mates, one Captain's clerk, one Foreman of the gunroom, one Cockswain, one Cooper, one Steward one Armourer, one Master-at-Arms, and one Cook.²⁰ The crew was to consist of sixty able seamen, seventy-three ordinary seamen, thirty boys, and fifty marines including officers. Specific instructions were given to Captain Preble to permit no indirect or forcible means to be used to induce men to enter the service.²¹ The above complement of 260 men was the usual complement of the

18 Letter to Capt. Preble from Secretary of the Navy, Knox, *Naval Documents*, August 1799 to December 1799, p. 305.

19 *Ibid.*, August 1799 to December 1799, p. 364.

20 Letters to Capt. Preble from Secretary of the Navy, Knox, *Naval Documents*, August 1799 to December 1799, p. 319.

21 *Ibid.*, August 1799 to December 1799, p. 319.

Essex. From an abstract of allotments made by the crew of the *Essex* an indication of the wages paid to various officers and rates can be obtained.²²

<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank or Rate</i>	<i>Wage</i>	<i>Allotment</i>
William Burr	seaman	\$17	\$8.50
Andrew Knowland	cook	18	9
Thomas Webb	ordinary seaman	12	6
James Wallace	master at arms	18	9
Royal Gurley	Midshipman	19	9.50
Richard C. Beale	Lieutenant	40	20
William Mumford	Purser	40	20
George Clark	boy	14	7
Samuel Masury	gunner	20	10
Samuel Ward	Capt's Clerk	25	12.50
Joseph Martin	boatswain	20	10
Francis Benson	Master Mate	20	10
Rufus Low	Sailing Master	40	20
Joseph Newhall	armourer	18	20

Captain Preble did not like the way the guns were mounted and he had the carriages completely done over. As she was finally equipped the *Essex* had 26 twelve pounders mounted on her gun deck and 10 six pounders mounted on her quarter deck. Captain Preble did not approve of the six pounders and suggested to the Secretary of the Navy that nine pounders would be much better as she had room and was able to bear them. He also put in a request for 75 muskets and 70 pair of pistols to complete the armament of the *Essex*.²³

Owing to bad weather, delays in the arrivals of supplies, the trouble with the gun carriages, and difficulties in recruiting, the *Essex* was not ready for sea as soon as Captain Preble had hoped in spite of great exertion by everyone. Even when the *Essex* did sail she had a complement of only two hundred and thirty-eight men, which was twenty-two short. The hardships of Navy life evidently did not appeal to the ordinary sailor who would

²² Abstract of allotments made by the crew of the *Essex*, *Essex Papers*, III, Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts. This was signed by Capt. Preble and the Purser, William Mumford.

²³ Letter, Knox, *Naval Documents*, August 1799 to December 1799, p. 435.

rather ship on a merchant ship. It was therefore not until December that Captain Preble could make out a receipt for the ship and put to sea.²⁴

“The Committee for building a Frigate in Salem for the United States, having delivered to my charge the said Frigate, called the *Essex*, with her hull, masts, spars, and rigging complete and furnished me with one complete suit of sails two bower cables and anchors, one stream cable and anchor, one hawser and kedge anchor, one tow line, four boats and a full set of spare masts and spars except the lower masts and bowsprit. I have in behalf of the United States, received said Frigate *Essex*, and signed duplicate receipts for the same.”

On 22 December 1799, the *Essex*, with orders to join the *Congress* at Newport sailed from Salem. *The Salem Gazette* recorded her departure.²⁵

The Frigate *Essex*, Capt. Preble, sailed from this harbour on Sunday morning for Newport. She fired a salute on going out which was returned from Fort Pickering. She sailed remarkably well, and from the abilities of her officers and crew, we anticipate a successful cruise.

Successful her cruises were indeed to be, but never again did the ship return to the harbor of the city whose sacrifices had made her construction possible. Even more ironical, her tragic end took place during a war which did uncalculable destruction to the shipping of Salem and to which the people of Salem were generally opposed.

The situation with France at the time the *Essex* sailed was one of open naval warfare although officially no war was ever declared. Commercial intercourse with France and her dependencies had been suspended by acts of Congress in the preceding six months of 1798. Due to depredations of the French, Congress on 28 May 1798 passed an Act which authorized President John Adams to send

24 Capt. George H. Preble, “The First Cruise of the United States Frigate *Essex*,” *Essex Institute Historical Collection*, (Salem, 1870), X, III, 47.

25 *The Salem Gazette*, 24 December 1799.

out the following general order to the Commanders of armed vessels of the United States:²⁶

You are instructed and directed to seize, take, and bring into any port of the United States, to be proceeded against according to the Law of Nations, any armed vessel sailing under authority or pretense of authority, from the Republic of France, which shall have committed, or which shall be found hovering on the coast of the United States, for the purpose of committing Depredations on the vessels belonging to the citizens thereof; and also to retake any ship or vessel of and citizen or citizens of the United States which may have been captured by any such armed Vessel.

The above act was broadened by one on 9 July 1798, which authorized the seizure of French armed vessels and captured American vessels "within the jurisdictional limits of the United States or elsewhere on the high seas."²⁷ This act, also, empowered the President to issue letters-of-marque to private armed vessels to do the same. These acts were the basis for the naval actions taken against French armed vessels during the next two years.

To return to the role of the *Essex*, she proceeded to Newport to rendezvous with the *Congress* and arrived there on 27 December. Captain Preble was very pleased at the way she sailed and commented in a letter to Captain Waters that she made eleven miles per hour, with top gallant sail set and within six points of the wind.²⁸ On 6 January 1800, the *Congress*, Captain Sever, and the *Essex*, Captain Preble, set sail from Newport with a convoy of two ships and a brig bound for the East Indies. The object of the voyage was to protect American shipping in the Far East from French privateers and to give convoy to such vessels as desired to return home. The three merchantmen, being dull sailors, soon dropped behind and were lost sight of after a couple of days. It blew hard after the two frigates had been out five days and they, too, were separated. The storm was of such

²⁶ Knox, *Naval Documents*, January 1789 to October 1798, p. 88.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, February 1797 to October 1798, p. 181.

²⁸ Preble, "Cruise of the *Essex*," p. 48.

intensity that the *Congress* lost her bowsprit and was totally dismasted on the afternoon of 12 January. Captain Sever finally managed to get a small sail set and returned to Hampton Roads, thus ending her attempted voyage to the Far East. Captain Preble writes in his journal on 12 January:²⁹

Strong gales, by S.E. to S.W. and rain, under reefed foresail, close reefed maintopsail, mizzen and forestaysails. At 4 P.M. took in the main topsail and set the storm mizzen staysail. The *Congress* S.E. by E. two miles. At 4½ P.M. considering the bowsprit to be in danger, I bore away for a few minutes to take in the fore-topmast staysail, the wind blowing with great fury. At this time lost sight of the *Congress*, our rigging being so slack as to make it impossible to carry sail to keep up with her without hazarding the loss of our masts.

Both the *Congress* and the *Essex* had had their rigging set up in cold weather, and the warm weather of the Gulf Stream had made it dangerously slack. Probably Captain Sever was unable to get enough sail in, but he was exonerated from blame by a court of inquiry due to the severity of the storm.

On the evening of 24 January, Captain Preble was informed that the mainmast was sprung between the decks. He ordered the maintopsail taken in and examined the mast which was found to be very badly sprung about three feet above the wedges. Then the top gallant yard and masts were taken down and the mainsail was taken in. They managed with great effort to ease the mast and secure it until the next day when the carpenters repaired the mast with fishes. On 7 February the ship crossed the equator. A week later John Wells and Daniel Woodman got into a scuffle on the starboard gangway, unknown to any officer on board, and both fell overboard. A jolly boat was put over the side and sent in quest of them, but returned in three quarters of an hour without seeing or hearing anything. It is amazing that they fell overboard

29 Knox, *Naval Documents*, January 1800 to May 1800, p. 70.

and disappeared as the weather was moderate and the sea smooth at the time.³⁰

On 11 March 1800, the *Essex*, without any further mishaps, anchored in Table Bay, Cape of Good Hope, where she found a British squadron of seven vessels, two English and a Swedish Indiaman, an English whaler, and three American merchant vessels. Two days after his arrival Preble wrote a report to the Secretary of the Navy describing the voyage. Much of the iron work had given way, and the rigging needed a thorough overhauling so he estimated that they would remain at Table Bay for at least ten days. Captain Preble was well received by the British, and the *Essex* was much admired for the beauty of her construction. The day following his arrival one of the Captains of the men of war came aboard the *Essex* and invited him to dine with the Admiral. The following day the Governor asked him to dine. The British offered to do all in their power to help him as they were also after French raiders. Captain Preble included in his report a copy of an order of the Governor of the Isle of France for the confiscation of all American property and news of French privateers in the straits of Sunda.³¹ In a letter just before leaving Table Bay, Preble wrote again to the Secretary of the Navy and also to Captain Sever telling of the friendly attitude of the British. The *Essex* sailed on 28 March 1800, after being completely equipped again and put in good repair. Captain Preble calculated rightly that the *Congress* had suffered some damage that would prevent her continuing the cruise, so he did not wait any longer.

The *Essex*, according to the records, must have passed longitude of the Cape of Good Hope, which is at Latitude 521° 22'S and Longitude 18° 29'E, about 11 A.M. on 28 March. She was the first United States ship of war to double the Cape and carry our flag to the Indian and Pacific Oceans. Below is a copy of the journal kept on

30 Journal of Sailing Master, Rufus Low, 7 February 1800, Knox, *Naval Documents*, January 1800 to May 1800, p. 221.

31 Knox, *Naval Documents*, January 1800 to May 1800, pp. 299-300.

the *Essex* by First Lieutenant Beale for the day she passed the Cape of Good Hope:³²

32 Lieut. Richard Beale, Photostat, *Journal kept on board the United States Frigate Essex*, printed for and sold by William T. Clap, sign of the Boston Frigate, Fish-Street Boston, at the Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts, the day of 28 March 1800.

I have included all references to wind and courses to illustrate how logs were kept at that time. One notes that the log was kept from noon to noon. The form above is identical with the original. The form itself was originally printed for the *Constitution*, but the handwriting is the same as on previous days when a form printed for the *Essex* was used. Also, the account checks with the notes in Capt. Preble's journal. Navy regulations at that time required the Captain, First Lieutenant, and Sailing Master to keep journals of the ship's movements. Evidently most of the later journals of the *Essex* were burned when the British destroyed the public buildings of Washington in 1814.

Occurrences, Remarks, Historical Events made on board the U. S. Frigate Constitution of 44 Guns, Commander on Friday the Day of, year

K	F	Courses	Winds	March 28	Results of Day's Work
				These 24 hours commence with light winds from the North'rd and West'rd at 2 P.M. unmoved and got under-way from stern anchor, beat out of the Bay in company with the Rattlesnake sloop of war Capt. Curtis fired a salute of 15 guns and was answered by the Admiral with 13 from on board the Lancaster, 64 gun ship, at 6 P.M. Table Hill bore E2S Dist 3 leagues Sugar Loaf EBS 2S Distance 2.4 leagues. Paul-oasberg SBW Distance 6 leagues from which bearing I take my departure, judging the ship to be in 34° South and 18° 10' East of London, at 11P.M. fresh gales and a heavy sea, close swept the topsail, hauled mainsail, got down gale yards and masts, At 4 A.M. the wind veered suddenly to SSW wore ship to Eastard unsteady weather, made and took in sail accordingly. Saw a sail under our lee, bore up and spoke her, proved to be an English brig bound Cape of Good Hope.	Course made good S 13°E Distance 97 Diff Lat. 1°34'S Departure 22'E Merid. Distance 22E Diff. Long 27E Long. Observed 18.37E Lat. Observed 35.37S Vari per Amp'd Vari per Azimuth Current
9	SW	North			
10	"	"			
9	"	"			
10	"	"			
10	SSW	"			
10	"	"			
10	"	"			
10	"	"			
10	"	"			
10	"	"			
7	ESE	SSW			
8	SSE	"			
9	SEBS	"			
9	SSE	"			
9	"	"			
9	SEBS	"			
7	NNE	WSW			
7	"	"			

Distance per log 163.

Nothing of great interest occurred after leaving the Cape of Good Hope until the *Essex* arrived in the Straits of Sunda. There, on 6 May, she recaptured an American ship after a three hour chase. The ship had been condemned at the Isle of France and was bound to Batavia.³³ This was the first piece of practical service rendered by the *Essex*. The ship was completely watered at New Island, in the Sunda Straits, and then proceeded to Batavia. On the way to Batavia, the morning of 10 May was spent in company with an English ship of 74 guns, the *Arrogant*, and the frigate *Orpheus*. Captain Preble reported that the *Essex* sailed infinitely faster than either of them, and he believed she was faster than any ship in the American service.³⁴ The *Arrogant* and the *Orpheus* were, according to Sailing Master, Rufus Low, the fastest sailing ships in the English Navy at that time.³⁵

On the following day there occurred the first open trouble with the crew. The crew had enlisted with the hopes of considerable prize money, and they had been at sea several months without getting any. The only ship they had captured was an American so they got nothing from her. Besides this, the heat was oppressive and the humidity high. William Ash, a forecastle man, became rebellious and excited his fellow shipmates to fall on their officers and serve them saying, "as we did on board the *Harmin* and serve them right."³⁶ He was quickly seized after this outburst and thrown in irons. This was the only outbreak of discontent that took place during the first cruise aboard the *Essex*, but sickness was later to plague the *Essex's* convoy and cause much discontent.

They arrived off Batavia on 14 May, and Preble wrote to the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies announcing his arrival and saying, "I shall salute the Dutch flag at Batavia with sixteen guns, if your Excellency will

³³ Knox, *Naval Documents*, January 1800 to May 1800, p. 483.

³⁴ Letter to Secretary of the Navy, from Captain Edward Preble, Knox, *Naval Documents*, January 1800 to May 1800, p. 498.

³⁵ Journal of Sailing Master, Rufus Low, Knox, *Naval Documents*, January 1800 to May 1800, p. 449.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 506.

do me the honor to order an equal number returned. Without being assured of this, I am not at liberty to salute the flag of any nation whatever."³⁷ This type of action brought respect for our new Republic and shows the spirit of our early naval commanders. The next day Preble anchored in Batavia roads and the salutes were exchanged. Preble was, also, cordially received by the governor. Most of the time during the next six weeks was spent in cruising about the Straits of Sunda and in collecting a convoy for the voyage home. One incident of interest occurred on 7 June 1800 when the *Essex* went aground off the Java coast. The following account of the incident is found in Lieutenant Beale's Journal kept on board the *Essex*:³⁸

At 9 A.M. standing in for the Java shore the ship struck on a small sand bank at $\frac{1}{2}$ a ships length, astern 6 fathoms water, abreast the main chains $4\frac{1}{2}$ each side, one ship's length forward 3 fathoms. Maneater's Island NW distance 4 miles. Got out the boats and prepared to carry out a bower anchor. Started 700 gallons of water and pumped it out. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9 she backed off, wore round, and came to the wind.

This was a constant danger at that time due to the lack of accurate charts and soundings. Much of the time one man had to be kept in the chains taking soundings. Two days later there is a notation in the Sailing Master's Journal of turning the powder barrels underside up, to keep the powder of equal strength. Great care had to be taken of powder in the tropics, and in that day and age the length of time between issues was great. This made the storage problem even more difficult.

The merchantmen were impatient to get away so on 15 June, signals and instructions were issued to fifteen vessels bound for the United States. At that time there were only three merchant vessels besides the American ones in Batavia. The *Essex* weighed anchor on 19 June and sailed with a convoy of thirteen American ships and brigs. Two remained behind, who were to join the convoy later. The cargo of the vessels was made up mainly

³⁷ Knox, *Naval Documents*, January 1800 to May 1800, p. 514.

³⁸ Beale, *Journal on the Essex*, 7 June 1800.

of coffee, sugar, and pepper. The ship *China*, 36 guns, which was the largest, was carrying Japan wood and ware, tea, camphor, drugs, coffee, sugar, and pepper to Philadelphia.³⁹ The cargoes of all these vessels were of a similar nature and of high value back in the United States.

On 21 June Captain Preble learned from a Dutch proa⁴⁰ that the American ship *Attenamak* of Baltimore had been captured at the Straits of Sunda on 15 June, by a French corvette of 22 guns. It was also reported that four more privateers were on their way from the Isle of France. Captain Preble notified the Dutch governor that the prize was taken under his jurisdiction so that she would be released if brought into a Dutch port.⁴¹

On 22 June the fleet anchored in Anjer Roads, with a wind contrary for passage. Through the straits a French corvette was in sight hovering about the fleet. The *Essex* started chasing her at 1 P.M. and continued until dark, but the lightness of the wind enabled her to make use of her sweeps to such good advantage as to escape. Captain Preble was then forced to go back to his convoy. On the 24th a Dutch proa came alongside, and Captain Preble learned that a French ship of 32 guns was in the straits over near Sumatra. The ship was supposed to be a frigate from France. The *Essex* chased the corvette again on the 24th when she approached the fleet at anchor under the Java shore between Anjer and Pepper Bay. At dusk the wind failed, and the corvette got away again by using its sweeps. The convoy then proceeded to New Bay where they watered, and on 1 July the *Essex* sailed with a convoy of 14 ships of which only one was unarmed. One of the vessels left at Batavia had decided not to join the convoy. Captain Preble in his August report to the Secretary of the Navy stressed the fact that our trade needed constant protection in the straits. He also remarked that

39 Preble, "Cruise of the Essex," p. 88.

40 A double-ended outrigger canoe of Malaysia, with a large lateen sail.

41 Letter to the Governor-General of Batavia from Captain Edward Preble, Knox, *Naval Documents*, June 1800 to November 1800, p. 50.

it was too bad that the *Congress* had not arrived at Batavia so one vessel could stay and clear the straits of pirates and French ships while the other took a convoy home.⁴²

During the passage from New Island to the Island of St. Helena Road the convoy required a good deal of attention, but managed to stay together until a storm hit on 11 August. The Brig *Delaware* was taken in tow for awhile. The flux and fever hit the convoy which added to the general discontent. Almost every day one of the merchantmen reported that they were short handed either through mutiny or sickness. The *Essex* committed four men to the deep herself before reaching St. Helena and two more on the way to New York. Often the *Essex* had to send men to help sail some of the merchant ships when their crew became too ill or rebellious. Then they too would get into a mutinous mood. No open outbreaks occurred aboard the well-disciplined *Essex*, but four men loaned to the *Smallwood* by Captain Preble mutinied. On 17 July they were brought back to the *Essex* to be whipped at the gangway.⁴³

In addition to the sickness the masters of the merchantmen were self-willed and often disobeyed orders to close up or fall back which is a usual problem that the Navy has to contend with when convoying merchantmen. Fortunately only one French ship molested the convoy during this passage on 31 July, and she was chased away without a shot being fired. On 11 August a tremendous gale off the bank of La Agalhas separated the *Essex* from her convoy, which had instructions to meet at St. Helena Roads in case of separation. The *Essex* picked up three on her way around the Cape of Good Hope, which she passed, on 27 August, and arrived at St. Helena on 10 September where salutes were exchanged with the British. Captain Preble, as before, was well received by the Governor.⁴⁴

In the course of the next two weeks nine of the vessels

42 Preble, *Essex*, pp. 95-97.

43 Journal of Sailing Master Rufus Low, Knox, *Naval Documents*, June 1800 to November 1800, p. 161.

44 Letter from Capt. Preble to Secretary of the Navy, Preble, *Essex*, p. 98.

arrived. Four were reported to have passed without calling at St. Helena, and one was dismasted. Two vessels left early, and on 26 September the *Essex* got underway with seven ships. The only activities on the way home were checking on strange sails, all of which proved friendly, and towing some of the convoy part of the time. The frigate moored in a snowstorm without further adventure on 29 November 1800 at New York.⁴⁵ She had been gone for ten months and twenty-three days. The crew was at once discharged, but the officers remained attached to care for the ship. Captain Preble was ordered to prepare her for sea 1 April 1801, but due to ill health he declined the honor.⁴⁶ Therefore, 20 May, Captain William Bainbridge was ordered by the Secretary of the Navy to relieve him of his command.⁴⁷

While the *Essex* was on her cruise a treaty had been negotiated with France, and the French depredations on American commerce died down after January 1801. The reason for the conciliatory attitude of the French was their fear that a war would make us a new ally for England. The treaty was conditionally ratified 3 February 1801, and by December 1801 both countries had agreed on a treaty which was proclaimed. We gave up the claims of American citizens for French spoilations, which was quite a concession. The French then excused us from all obligations of the treaties of 1778.⁴⁸ Although the *Essex* played a small active role in this war its effect was great in bolstering our commerce in the Far East. What the fate of the ships in the *Essex's* convoy would have been in the Sunda Straits if she had not been there is not difficult to imagine.

Dr. Gardner Allen says that "six million may be taken as fair estimate of the actual expense of protecting

45 Journal of Sailing Master Rufus Low, Knox, *Naval Documents*, June 1800 to November 1800, p. 564.

46 Letter from Samuel Smith for Acting Secretary of the Navy to Capt. Edward Preble, Capt. Dudley W. Knox, U.S.N., *Naval Documents related to the United States Wars with the Barbary Powers*, (Washington, 1939), I, 425.

47 Letter from Samuel Smith for Acting Secretary of the Navy, *Ibid.*, p. 463.

48 Allen, *Naval War with France*, pp. 249, 250.

American commerce against French Depredations. During the years of 1798 to 1800 inclusive, however, the value of the exports of the United States thus protected was over two hundred million dollars and the revenue derived from imports was more than twenty-two million dollars." The profits derived from having a protected overseas commerce more than paid for the naval protection rendered. In addition by departing from its temporary pacifism and using naval force the United States began to be recognized as a world force. During the next five years it was necessary again to take aggressive action in the defense of American shipping in the Mediterranean. The role of the *Essex* in these operations is considered in the following chapter.

THE *Essex* AND THE BARBARY CORSAIRS

As was mentioned before, it had been the depredations of the Algerians during 1793 which caused Congress to authorize the construction of six frigates on 27 March 1794. Relations had been fairly peaceful with Morocco after a treaty in 1786 and continued to be, but trouble was constantly flaring up with Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, Often those nations were encouraged by our commercial rivals in Europe to raid our commerce and they, by paying tribute, obtained protection for their vessels. Then a treaty which was a disgrace to us was negotiated with Algiers and ratified by the Senate in March of 1796. It cost us a million dollars in ransom and tribute by 1797, and the tribute continued after that for several years. A similar treaty was made with Tunis at a cost of nearly fifty-six thousand dollars, and one with Tripoli at a cost of about one hundred and seven thousand dollars. These treaties had little meaning to the rulers of the Barbary States. The Pasha of Tripoli became jealous of the better treaty that the Dey of Algiers had obtained which caused friction. Meanwhile our commerce with Italy and Spain increased to \$11,400,000 in the year 1800. The temptation to demand more tribute or else to begin preying on our commerce was too great for the Pasha of Tripoli so he demanded a frigate and more money from

us late in 1800. When he was refused, he declared war on 18 May 1801 against the United States.⁴⁹ The absence of a strong Navy and the Jeffersonian isolation policy made this action seem possible and advisable to the Pasha.

After our hostilities with France were over, Secretary Stoddert, on 12 January 1801, recommended that "it would be good economy to sell all public vessels except the following frigates; the *United States*, *President*, *Constitution*, *Chesapeake*, *Philadelphia*, *New York*, *Constellation*, *Congress*, *Essex*, *Boston*, *John Adams*, *Adams*, and the *General Green*."⁵⁰ The reasons were that only these vessels were of good enough construction to be of use in future wars. There was also a plan for part pay for officers on shore, which was the start of a Naval Reserve, and for the storage of timber for future building at Navy Yards, which was the start of stock piling for war. Congress enacted legislation carrying out some of the recommendations in March.

Thus, President Jefferson, who had been elected in the fall of 1800, although basically opposed to foreign wars and trade found himself with the nucleus of a navy and serious difficulties in the Mediterranean. He was warned by our Consul Cathcart in Tripoli of the coming trouble, and he realized that paying tribute was doing no good. So in order to keep the Navy busy and as a precautionary measure he had the Secretary of the Navy send a squadron to the Mediterranean under Commodore Dale. The order was sent out on 20 May 1801 and with it was included a letter appointing Captain Bainbridge commander of the *Essex*.⁵¹ The squadron, consisting of the frigates *President*, Captain James Barron, bearing the broad pendant of Commodore Richard Dale; the *Philadelphia*, Captain Samuel Barron; the *Essex*, Captain Bainbridge; and the schooner *Enterprise*, Lieutenant Sterrett, was assembled

49 Captain Dudley W. Knox, *A History of the United States Navy*, (New York 1936), p. 60.

50 Letter to the Committee on Naval Affairs from the Secretary of the Navy, Knox, *Naval Documents*, December 1800 to December 1801, p. 80.

51 Knox, *Naval Documents of the Barbary Wars*, I, 425.

and sailed 1 June from New York.⁵² Commodore Dale did not know of the declaration of war by Tripoli when he sailed, and he only had instructions to blockade the ports of the states that he found to be hostile and to sink any of their ships he could reach.

The voyage to Gibraltar was relatively uneventful. Captain Bainbridge recorded in his journal on 6 June that under most conditions the *Essex* was the fastest sailer in the fleet, though the *President*, did once succeed in beating the *Essex* on 14 June by a little when under full sail.⁵³ Nothing occurred on the voyage beside routine fleet maneuvers, and on 1 July the fleet anchored safely at Gibraltar. The captains of all the ships then met with Commodore Dale aboard the *President* where they learned from the American Consul, Mr. Gavino, that the Tripolitans had commenced hostilities. This information was unofficial, but the presence of two Tripolitan cruisers in the harbor seemed to indicate that it was true.⁵⁴ The Admiral of the Tripolitans, a Scotsman, however denied that there was any war.

The Commodore took no chances and left the *Philadelphia* to watch the Tripolitan cruisers while he proceeded with the *President* and *Enterprise* to visit Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli in fulfillment of his orders. The *Essex* sailed with them on 4 July, but she was under separate orders to convoy the ship *Grand Turk*, loaded with public stores, to the Bay of Tunis and protect the brig *Hope* as far as she wished to go.⁵⁵ The *Grand Turk* proved to be a dull sailer and had to be towed most of the way. The crew was exercised regularly at battle stations, and from all reports Captain Bainbridge kept a well disciplined ship. The *Essex* arrived with her charges on 19 July at Tunis where she found the *President* and the *Enterprise*.⁵⁶

The situation at Tunis was strained at the time of the

52 Bainbridge's Journal on the *Essex*, Knox, *Naval Documents of the Barbary Wars*, I, 483.

53 *Ibid.*, pp. 488, 490.

54 *Ibid.*, p. 497.

55 Letter to Captain Bainbridge from Commodore Dale, Knox, *Barbary Wars*, I, pp. 500, 501.

56 Bainbridge's journal aboard the *Essex*, Knox, *Barbary Wars*, I, 522.

arrival of the American squadron due to the Bey's demand to our consul, Colonel Eaton, for more tribute. He was not just demanding it from the United States but from all the maritime powers. The system generally being, that by having a couple of powers pay tribute they could be free to raid the ones who refused. The powers paying tribute received protection and also enjoyed the privilege of having their competitor's commerce raided. This was the main reason that no general policing policy had been worked out by the European powers. Jefferson had suggested this policy when he was ambassador to France, but he received no cooperation. The presence of the American frigates had a wholesome effect on the Bey temporarily, but Colonel Eaton was finally ordered out of the country 10 March 1803 mainly because of the Bey's sympathy for Tripoli.⁵⁷

The *Essex* did not remain long in Tunis, but sailed on 21 July for the northern coast of the Mediterranean. She had orders to convoy the brig *Hope* as far as Sicily and then proceed along the northern coast westward collecting a convoy of American vessels which she was to see safely out of the Mediterranean through the Straits of Gibraltar.⁵⁸ The *Essex* parted company with the brig *Hope* off Sicily and proceeded to Marseilles where she spent one day. She sailed on 30 July with a Salem ship, the *Martina*, Captain Prince, and arrived at Barcelona, Spain, on 2 August.⁵⁹ This is one instance where the *Essex* rendered a service to the town which built her.

At Barcelona the *Essex* was visited by many people, and her fine condition and appearance were in sharp contrast to the Spanish vessels of war. The Spaniards were not very hospitable as they refused to return a salute, gun for gun, when Captain Bainbridge offered. So, none was rendered. Then the Spaniards of the King's Zebec were so rude as to demand Captain Bainbridge's barge to come alongside and that he come aboard to identify himself

⁵⁷ Gardner W. Allen, *Our Navy and the Barbary Corsairs*, (Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1905), p. 73.

⁵⁸ Letter to Captain Bainbridge from Commodore Dale, Knox, *Barbary Wars*, I, 515.

⁵⁹ Journal *Essex*, Knox, *Barbary Wars*, I, 534, 536.

when he was passing the Zebec⁶⁰ around 9 P.M. on 3 August. They reinforced their demand by firing seven times which forced Captain Bainbridge to stop. They knew it was his barge as the *Essex* lay just beyond them, and they hailed it in English. After much abusive language Captain Bainbridge was allowed to depart without doing any more than identifying himself by answering their questions from his barge. Captain Bainbridge was furious and immediately wrote a letter to the Captain General of the Province of Catalonia demanding an apology. He also wrote to our Consul, Colonel Humphreys, complaining of the actions of the Spaniards which he regarded as a national insult.⁶¹

This action was followed the next night by a similar insult to First Lieutenant Stephen Decatur. Decatur informed the officer who stopped him that he would see him the next day to account for his conduct, and returned in a rage to the *Essex*. He took the action as a personal offense, and the next day he went on board the Spanish ship for an apology. The officer, who had insulted him, was not there so he left a letter of denunciation and went ashore to find him. The Captain General promised to have the officers of the Zebec reprimanded and apologized, so the issue died down without further incident.⁶² Luckily Decatur failed to find his man. The result of the incident was an order from the King of Spain to the commanders of the seaport towns to treat all officers of the United States with courtesy and respect, and especially those of the *Essex*. It is to Captain Bainbridge's credit that he was firm in standing up for his country's honor and thus obtaining respect. The incident also illustrates the spirited character of Decatur, who was destined to do such notable service.

Having obtained ballast, fresh water, and the necessary

60 A Mediterranean vessel, with long overhanging bow and stern and usually three-masted.

61 Copies of the letters, General H. A. S. Dearborn, *The Life of William Bainbridge, Esq.* written 1816, (Princeton, 1931), pp. 42-47.

62 Alexander S. MacKenzie, *The Life of Stephen Decatur*, (Boston, 1846), pp. 51, 52.

supplies Captain Bainbridge sailed from Barcelona on 10 August with a convoy of sixteen American ships and one Swedish ship. He proceeded along the coast picking up four American ships, one Swedish, and one Danish ship at Salon on 13 August; two American ships at Alicant, and six Swedish vessels at Tarviessa. He stopped at Malaga where there were no American ships ready to sail. The routine of convoy work and gun drills was broken on 4 August when shots were fired at a fleeing cutter which had attempted to cut out one of the merchant ships from the convoy.⁶³ It was broken again on 16 August when the *Essex* engaged a Xebeck.⁶⁴ The Xebeck, with lateen⁶⁵ sails, bore down on the fleet, and the *Essex* immediately gave chase. Several shots were fired to bring the Xebeck to, but she failed to stop and passed the *Essex's* bow with red colors flying. Captain Bainbridge, seeing the crew wore turbans and the Xebeck's failing to stop when two guns were fired ahead of her, naturally thought she was a Tripolitan cruiser. The wind was dying down, and being afraid of a calm he fired into her. The fire cut away the Xebeck's rigging and sails, wounded one man mortally, and obliged her to strike her colors. Unfortunately the vessel proved to be Moorish and belonged to Tangiers.⁶⁶ She had disobeyed the martial law of the seas by not stopping so Captain Bainbridge is not to be criticized. Also, if the *Essex* had not been present she might have hoisted the Tripolitan flag and made some captures under false colors.

From the *Journal of the Essex* it is learned that she escorted a convoy of a total of twenty-six American vessels through the Straits of Gibraltar. After leaving the convoy, she returned to Gibraltar on 31 August, where Captain Bainbridge hoped to find the *Philadelphia*, but she had left.⁶⁷ The two Tripolitan cruisers, that the *Philadelphia* had been guarding, had been dismasted.

63 *Journal of the Essex*, Knox, *Barbary Wars*, I, 554, 547, 548.

64 Same as Zebec.

65 A triangular sail, extended by a long yard, slung to the mast, which is usually low.

66 *Ibid.*, p. 551.

67 *Ibid.*, p. 564.

Their crews had gone over to the Morocco shore, and the Admiral had taken passage to Malta on an English ship.⁶⁸ Thus, by blockade one source of danger to our commerce had been eliminated.

The *Essex* subsequently made another cruise up the Mediterranean along the southern coast, touching at Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli. At Tripoli on 24 September she and the *President* were fired on by gun boats, but managed to get off shore and away.⁶⁹ No damage was done to either party as the range was too great. Nothing was to be gained by staying at Tripoli so the *Essex* crossed to the European shore and returned with a convoy of homeward bound American ships to Gibraltar.

At Gibraltar on 6 November 1801, a court martial, which illustrates the legal form for keeping discipline, was held aboard the *Essex* by order of Commodore Dale to try Midshipman Tripp for stabbing a sailor, who was a deserter, while in the act of apprehending him in Gibraltar. Tripp was unanimously acquitted by the court. The next man brought before the court was Sargent Rogers of the *Philadelphia* who was tried for resisting Mr. Cooper, Master's Mate, in the execution of his duty. He was found guilty and sentenced to be reduced to the ranks. In addition the poor fellow received fifty lashes on his bare back with the cat of nine tails.⁷⁰ Hard physical punishment was still a method of keeping order in the young American Navy.

Towards the close of the year 1801, Commodore Dale returned to the United States with the *President* and the *Enterprise*. The *Essex* was left at Gibraltar to watch the Tripolitan cruisers which had been dismasted and to guard the Straits for American ships. On 25 May 1802, Commodore Richard Morris arrived at Gibraltar with a stronger squadron consisting of the *Constellation*, *Chesapeake*, *Adams*, *New York*, and *John Adams*.⁷¹ The *Essex*, being in great need of repairs, was sent home on 17 June, and after an easy voyage with the exception of one storm

68 Dearborn, *Life of Bainbridge*, p. 50.

69 Journal of the *Essex*, Knox, *Barbary Wars*, I, 587.

70 *Ibid.*, p. 614.

71 Journal of the *Essex*, Knox, *Barbary Wars*, II, 160.

she arrived at New York on 23 July. Captain Bainbridge received orders to proceed immediately with the ship to Washington. When the crew learned of this from the newspapers they sent a letter to the Captain stating their determination not to proceed to Washington as they wanted immediate discharge. Captain Bainbridge acted promptly and energetically. He informed the crew of his intention to carry out the orders of the Secretary of the Navy, and after mustering the officers and marines he examined the crew individually. He gave each man the choice of doing their duty or being put in irons. Eighteen men refused to obey orders and were confined.⁷² The start of a mutiny was put down, without any bloodshed, due to the prompt manner that was used. The *Essex* sailed to Washington and arrived there the first part of August 1802.⁷³ She was then dismasted and placed in ordinary at the Eastern Branch of the Potomac. Thus the second foreign voyage of the *Essex* was ended, and she was retired temporarily from the service.

The war went on, but was not being prosecuted very vigorously by the Jeffersonian party. Then news was received in March of 1804 of the loss of the *Philadelphia* due to grounding off Tripoli on 1 November 1803. Immediately it was decided to put the *Essex*, *President*, *Constellation* and the *Congress* back into the service.⁷⁴ Captain James Barron was assigned on 11 April, by the Secretary of the Navy, to take charge of and outfit the *Essex*.⁷⁵ A squadron consisting of the *Congress*, *President*, *Constellation* and the *Essex* under the command of Commodore William Barron was assembled and sailed from Hampton Roads on 4 July for Gibraltar which they reached on 12 August. Commodore Preble, whom Commodore Barron was to relieve, had made four devastating attacks on the land and water defenses of Tripoli during July and August, 1804. The Barbary Coast being a lee shore during the winter months made attacks practically

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 210.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 225, 226.

⁷⁴ Letter from the Secretary of the Navy to Captain Edward Preble, Knox, *Barbary Wars*, IV, 88.

⁷⁵ Knox, *Barbary Wars*, IV, 19.

impossible due to the danger of grounding. Even an effective blockade was hard to maintain, so all Commodore Barron did after taking over the squadron was to parade off the harbor of Tripoli for three weeks during September before retiring to winter quarters at Malta. The British allowed us to use both Malta and Gibraltar as bases of operation during the Barbary Wars.

The *Essex* after arriving at Gibraltar was detached from the squadron and sent with the *Congress* on 15 August to Tangiers whose Emperor was fitting out his cruisers again. The appearance of the two frigates had the desired effect of stopping the Emperor from taking any rash actions. After two weeks at Algiers they returned to Gibraltar where Captain Barron was left with the *Essex* with orders to watch Morocco.⁷⁶ Captain Barron, having been relieved in October by the *Siren*, spent the winter cruising in the Mediterranean during which time the *Essex* stopped at Syracuse, Malta, Venice, and Trieste. She arrived back at Malta again on 2 May 1805.⁷⁷

Peace negotiations started with Tripoli in an informal way during the winter of 1804-1805. Due to the prevailing winds which made inshore operations impossible, the Pasha was safe from attack until winter was over. As spring approached with the danger of renewed attacks and as a result of Commodore Preble's attacks the previous summer he made it known to Colonel Lear, who was responsible for negotiations for the United States, that he was ready to treat for peace. Colonel Lear, who was at Malta, received the first word about peace in December from the Spanish Consul at Tripoli. After further negotiations through the same intermediary Colonel Lear sailed on 24 May aboard the *Essex* for Tripoli. A letter was also carried on this voyage from Commodore Barron which turned his command over to Captain John Rodgers at Tripoli. Captain Rodgers was given his letter on 25 May when the *Essex* appeared off Tripoli. He then went aboard the *Essex*, and she stood in toward town, flying a

⁷⁶ Allen, *Naval War France*, p. 219.

⁷⁷ Knox, *Barbary Wars*, V, 11.

white flag which was answered by the same signal from the Pasha's castle. The Spanish counsul then came out in a boat with terms which were unacceptable to Colonel Lear. Bad weather interrupted the negotiations until 29 May when they were resumed aboard the *Constitution*. The treaty of peace was signed on 10 June 1805, aboard the *Constitution*. This was the first time since the Barbary powers had become powerful several centuries before that one was forced to seek peace and sign a treaty aboard an enemy ship. The treaty required no future tribute, but did involve a ransom of \$60,000 for the release of the prisoners captured aboard the *Philadelphia*. Also, our forces under General Eaton were to withdraw from the town of Derne which had been captured in a land and sea attack the end of April 1805.⁷⁸

After the arrival of our naval forces in the Mediterranean our commerce greatly expanded and continued to grow after peace until the embargo of 1807. Our naval force was still needed for a while to keep the peace, but it was gradually withdrawn. The *Essex* left for home in June 1806, and arrived at the Eastern Branch of the Potomac on 27 July 1806, with Captain Rodgers aboard.⁷⁹ From the time peace was concluded until the *Essex* sailed for home she had cruised around the Mediterranean.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Letter to the Secretary of State from Colonel Tobias Lear, Knox, *Barbary Wars*, VI, p. 159. It is appropriate to remark that no evidence can be found in the Naval Documents collected by Captain Knox that the *Essex* participated in the attack on Derne late in April of 1805 as was recorded in one secondary source that I consulted. According to the records the *Essex* was at Trieste all of April 1805, and sailed from there on 2 May.

⁷⁹ Letter to the Secretary of the Navy from Captain John Rodgers, Knox, *Barbary Wars*, Vol. VI, 463.

⁸⁰ A brief resume of her movements and Captains from 29 August 1805 until 28 July 1806.

29 August 1805, Captain Cox received command from Captain Barron.

11 June sailed to Syracuse.

Sailed 13 June.

Arrived Tunis Bay 19 June.

Sailed 22 June.

Arrived Syracuse 26 June.

(To be continued)



RESIDENCE OF REV. BENJAMIN PRESCOTT
Central Street, Peabody, burned about 1920

From a photograph owned by Miss M. J. Buxton

HISTORY OF THE SOUTH CHURCH, PEABODY

FORMERLY IN THE MIDDLE PRECINCT OF SALEM,
LATER KNOWN AS THE SOUTH PARISH OF DANVERS

By BESSIE RAYMOND BUXTON

After the witchcraft delusion had passed and people realized that their relatives and friends had been unjustly persecuted, tortured and hanged, resentment naturally followed. Can we realize today, that the wife of a member of this church was whipped for absence from the services of the First Church in Salem? She was Ann Potter, the young wife of Anthony Needham, who built the Needham house, still standing, at the corner of Lowell Street and the Newburyport Turnpike. This was before there was any church here, and Anthony Needham and his wife went to the First Church, in Town House Square, Salem, a long journey, more than five miles through the forests. Finally, Mrs. Needham refused to attend the First Church, and attended the Quaker meetings a few times. She was fined three pounds fifteen shillings for absence from church services. Refusing to pay this fine, she was ordered whipped, twelve stripes. Thomas Roots, the constable, whipped her and was paid two shillings six pence for this service. Although Mrs. Needham was accused of being a Quaker, the South Church records contain her name and the location of her seat in the church.

Then followed the witchcraft delusion in 1692, and John Proctor, George Jacobs and Martha Corey, all Middle Parish residents, were hanged as witches. Sara, wife of Robert Pease, of Gap Lane (62 Central Street) was jailed, but not hanged. Giles Corey suffered the more dreadful "peine forte et dure," being pressed to death under great rocks, because he refused to plead against the indictment in court. Rev. Nicholas Noyes, Teacher of

the First Church in Salem, was most vindictive in persecuting these innocent people, even excommunicating them just before they were executed.

The people of the Middle Parish of Salem (now Peabody) stated in their petition "that we dwell remote from the meeting house which we ourselves in the winter time and in bad weather, with much difficulty and hardship, do attend the public worship of God, and to our great grief and sorrow our children and family are forced to stay at home the great part of the Year." (Mass. Archives, Vol. II, leaf 337.) And when, after making the long hard journey to the First Church in Salem, they must listen to sermons by the Rev. Mr. Noyes, who had been so vindictive in persecuting their friends and neighbors as witches, their resentment increased. To have a church of their own, nearer their homes, and a different minister, seemed most desirable, and there was much discussion about it. A group of these people met to attempt the establishment of religious services among themselves, and called their association "The Church of Christ in Salem Middle Precinct." On May 9th, 1705, they voted to call George Corwin to be their minister. A vote was taken of the people living in that territory to confirm this action, but it failed.

In February 1709/10, the selectmen of Salem were petitioned to set off as a new precinct, that part of the town outside the Town Bridge, and below the line of Salem Village (now Danvers Highlands). The Town Bridge was built at the modern junction of Goodhue, Bridge and Boston Streets, Salem, where an arm of the sea, wide enough for boats, crossed the road. (This section, in the 1800's was known as Blubber Hollow, because of the use of whale's blubber in the nearby tanneries.) The boundaries of the proposed precinct were given in this petition for a special town meeting on March 6, 1709/10. "Viz: on a streight line from ye towne bridge to ye Spring Pond where ye brook runs out and soe along ye northern shore of said Pond to Lyn line, and then northward on Lyn line to ye Village Line, and then eastward on ye Village

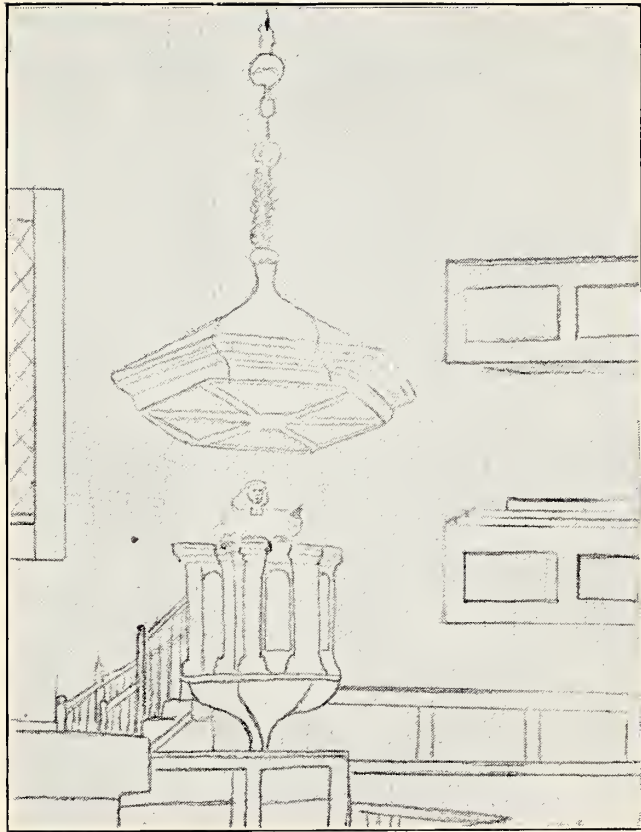
Line to Frostfish River [Porters River, Danvers] and then as ye Saltwater Leads to ye Towne bridge first named (Excepting only James Symonds, John Symonds, John Norton and Nath. Whittimore) viz: for granting unto ye inhabitants Dwelling within ye limits above mentioned [the men excepted lived in what is now North Salem] to be free from paying Rates to ye Minister within ye bridge [the First Church] Provided they do at their own Cost and Charge build a Meeting-house for ye Publick Worship of God among them and sustaine an Orthodox Minister to preach in ye same." These boundaries are very nearly those of present-day Peabody.

The meeting of March 6th was called of "those that live without or below ye Village line that are Duely Qualified according to law for voteing." This excluded the voters of Salem Village (Danvers Highlands) and the result was that the petitioners were in the minority, and the meeting dissolved without action "because all the persons precluded by the Petitioners had not signed the petition." This was merely a pretext seized upon by the majority to prevent further action, and a very decided opposition to the separation of the new precinct was developed at this meeting. After this rebuff in the town meeting, the petitioners changed their plans, and addressed the General Court, praying to be set off as a separate precinct, and asked of the town of Salem only a lot of land on which to build their meeting-house. As the next town meeting was to be held on March 20th, they induced the selectmen to insert an article in the warrant authorizing the grant of a lot of land conditionally on the precinct's being established, there being at that time no petition or proceeding on foot before either the town or the General Court other than the one which had just been refused a hearing. Capt. Samuel Gardner, of the Middle Precinct, was a representative that year to the General Court, with Capt. Jonathan Putnam, and probably he felt more confident of success in the General Court than in the town meeting. The list of petitioners as given by Hanson in his "History of Danvers" is:

LIST OF PETITIONERS FOR A LOT OF LAND ON WHICH
TO ERECT A MEETING HOUSE, IN THE SOUTH PARISH,
MARCH 1709/10.

Samuel Marble	Anthony Needham
John Nurse	John Marsh
Abraham Pierce	Benjamin Marsh
James Houlton	Samuel Stacy Senr.
Samuel Cutler	Samuel Stacy
Ebenezer Cutler	William Osborne
Samuel King	John Burton
Samuel Stone	Benjamin Proctor
James Gould	Elias Trask
William King	John Giles
Stephen Small	John Gardner
Ezekiel Marsh	George Jacobs
Benjamin Very	John Felton
Ezekiel Goldthwaite	Robert Wilson
Nath'l Waters	Eben. Foster
John Jacobs	Skelton Felton
Richard Waters	Jonathan King
Samuel Cook	Henry Cook
David Foster	Joseph Douty
Nathaniel Felton	Thorndike Proctor
John Waters	Samuel Goldthwaite
Israel Shaw	Samuel Goldthwaite Jr.
Jacob Read	John King
John Trask	John King, Jr.
Nathaniel Tompkins	Samuel Endicott
William Osborne, Jr.	Nath'l Felton
John Walden	

The article in the Warrant issued March 8, 1709/10 is:
"To answer the petition of severall of ye Inhabitants of
this Towne, that live without ye bridge and below ye
Village line, To grant them a Quarter of an acre of land
to set a Meeting-house upon Nigh Sam'l Goldthrit's jun.
between that and ye Widow Parnell's [present site of
Klemm bakery] in Case ye Town or General Court See
Cause to Set them off." The inhabitants of the village
parish (Danvers Highlands) were in sympathy with the



SKETCH OF THE OLD OAKEN PULPIT OF "SOUTH CHURCH" IN 1711

Courtesy Peabody Historical Society, Peabody

promoters of the new precinct, and the petitioners secured a majority at the general town meeting. A motion to proceed to the vote for granting one fourth of an acre to the petitioners prevailed, and it was then voted that the land asked for be granted. A protest was immediately drawn up and signed by several of the most prominent citizens of the "Body of the Town," and was entered on the records. The grounds of the protest were that the inhabitants of the new precinct "have never been sett of, nor any Precinct or District for a Parish Prescribed by the Towne, and although this matter of theire petition was now urged and moved as preposterous and irregular, & that therefore ye Towne might have time to Consider of it till another Towne meeting, Wee therefore doe hereby dissent from and Protest against the Said Precipitate and Irregular vote or act therein for ye reasons following, viz

1. Because two of the Selectmen that ordered the Inserting this matter in the warrant were Livers without the Bridge & one of them a Petitioner in said Petition, and both Subscribers for the there Intended meeting house.

2. Because two More of the Selectmen that were of the Village Parish were absent from their Bretheren when the said Petition was ordered in the warrant.

3. Because the Three Selectmen that are Livers within the Bridge, & some Quakers, and chiefly those also belonging to the Village Parish whome we humbly conceive ware not propper voters in this matter. We therefore pray this, our Protest, may be Entred with ye said vote Records." Benjamin Lynde, Jonathan Corwin, William Gedney and Francis Willoughby were among the signers of this protest.

The Rev. Mr. Noyes of the First Church was also opposed. Rev. Joseph Green, successor to Rev. Samuel Parris of the Salem Village Church, writes in his Diary: "March 8, 1710—I went to Salem lecture. I had much discourse with Mr. Noyes. He told me the design of building a new meeting House and settling a minister without the Town Bridge was a wicked design, and had a wicked tendency."

The next sitting of the General Court was May 31, 1709/10, and the petition for the new precinct having been presented, the General Court, upon reading it, issued an order of notice directing the petitioners to notify the town of Salem, by sending a copy of the petition to the Selectmen, to appear and show reason on the 16th of June, why the prayer of the petitioners should not be granted. On June 8th, the selectmen called a meeting of freeholders below the village line, for the 12th. At this meeting, which was merely to give an opportunity to the remonstrants to appear against the petitioners, "at the motion of the moderator and Severall other gentlemen the Petitioners Liveing without the Bridge Drew of before voting." It was "voated that the Town will Choose a Committe or agents to Shew Reason why the Prayers of the Petitioners our Neighbors without the Bridge should not be Granted."

A committee, Maj. Samuel Browne, Benjamin Lynde and Josiah Wolcott, was chosen to show reason in the town's behalf against the petition. Their arguments were filed in writing, and show warm feeling. The Salem committee said to the General Court "Wee Cannott Butt think that Thatt Honorable Court will never want Business and Trouble If such Hasty and forward Petitioners be encouraged and have their Desires." They also declare that "There was no such design until our Church had Chosen Mr. George Corwin for an assistant in the ministry to our Rev'd Mr. Noyes, which not being pleasing to One, or Two of the Chief of ye Petitioners has occasioned this new undertaking, and a great unhappiness in the Town." It was also objected that the separation would take from the body of the town, in parish matters, three fourths of all improved lands, and it would withdraw 80 or 90 families from the First Church, thus lessening its income.

On the 19th of June, the General Court referred the whole matter to the next session, and appointed a committee to repair to Salem, and upon a full hearing of the petitioners, and the selectmen, and others in behalf of the town, after viewing the place proposed for the new

building, "offer their opinion of the most convenient place for a new congregation, Making report upon the whole to this Court at their next session." Tuesday, Sept. 12th, was set for the hearing before the committee of the General Court in Salem. The selectmen, desiring to make the visit of the committee a pleasant one, at their meeting on September 9th, "ordered that John Pratt bee spoken to make Sutable Entertainment for ye Comittee apointed by ye General Court to come to Salem, refering to ye precinct petition for without ye Bridge & that the Towne will defray ye Charge thereof."¹

The meeting was probably held in the Town House, which was situated in the middle of Washington Street (formerly called School Street) facing Essex Street over the eastern end of the tunnel. At the meeting, new papers were filed by the parties: the petitioners rejoined to the arguments of the respondents, pointing out that the new parish would take only about one fourth of the families of the First Parish, and because of the small means of those who lived by farming, compared to the merchants and tradesmen of the town, it would take away but "little more than a fifth part of ye proportion rated to the minister." The full discussion has not been preserved, but it doubtless was a lively session, for these were people used to disagreements, and determined to win.

The members of the committee were taken to the proposed site of the new meetinghouse, and entertained by the town with great liberality: for John Pratt's bill "for Entertainment of ye Committee & ye Company that attended and accompanied them for Two dinners, expenses, etc." amounted to £4-7s-6d, a very considerable sum for a junket in those days. It was approved the following January without comment, as far as the records show.

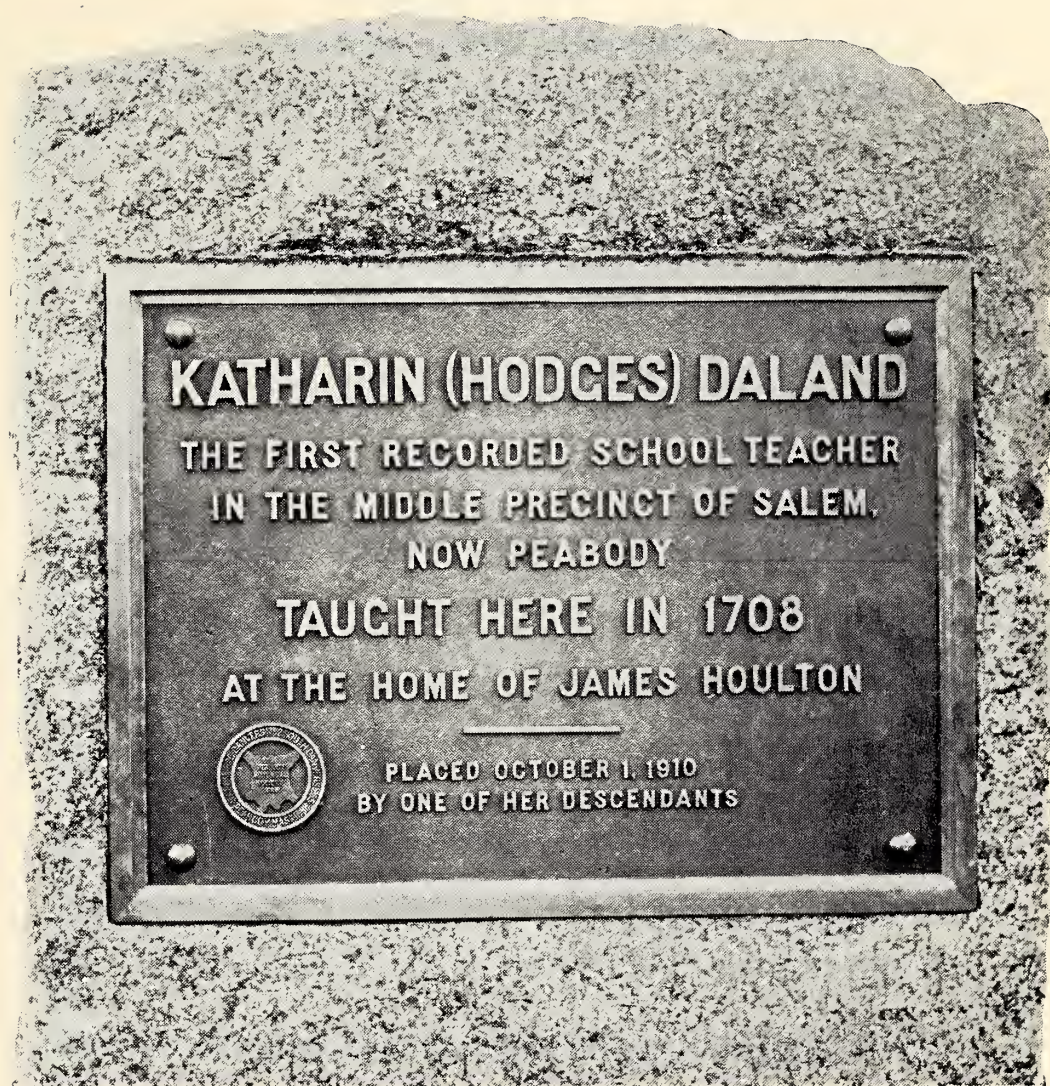
On November 1st, 1710, the legislative committee submitted a report, dated October 31st, in favor of setting off the new precinct. The report was read in the council and left upon the board. The next day the report was

1 For account of the Middle Precinct, see Perley, "History of Salem," vol. 3, p. 388.

again read and debated. On November 3rd, on the question "Whether the Council will now vote the said report" there was a tie. It was not until November 10th that the report was finally accepted. The committee recommended that "The said precinct do begin at the great Cove in the North Field so to run directly to Trask's Grist Mill, [near present-day Grove Street] taking in the Mill to the new Precinct; from thence on a Straight Line to the Milestone on the Road to Salem Meeting-house [this milestone marked "1707" stood at the foot of the Big Tree, a large Elm in the center of Boston street, near the corner of Hanson Street] and So along the Road to Lyn by Lindsay's: and then along the Line between Salem and Lyn Northward, till it comes to Salem Village Line & along by that line to Frost Fish River & then by the Salt Water to the great Cove first mentioned; and that the Meeting-house be erected on that Piece of land near Gardner's Brook, already granted by the Towne for that End."

The report signed by Penn Townsend for the committee, was read and accepted by both houses, & consented to by Governor Dudley the same day, November 10, 1710. Though the committee, in this report, speak of "that Piece of land near Gardner's Brook, already granted by the Towne for that End" the grant had not yet been located, for its terms were conditional. On December 28th, a formal vote was passed at a meeting of the selectmen, ordering "that Capt. Jonathan Putnam, Mr. Benjamin Putnam and Mr. John Pickering or any two of them be a committee to lay out the quarter of an acre & make return thereof." It was a shrewd proceeding on the part of the petitioners to obtain the conditional grant in advance, and then locate it by the recommendation of the committee of the General Court before the layers-out had been appointed. The fact that the land had already been granted probably had some weight with the committee.

At first, towns assumed to own all the lands within their limits not specifically granted. Grants were made by the colonial authority, or by towns through the agency of *seven men*, or *selectmen*, according to the standing of the grantees, or services rendered.



KATHARINE DALAND MEMORIAL TABLET

At home of Mr. Thorndike Earle, Prospect St., Peabody, Mass.

Courtesy Peabody Historical Society

It was voted to "Petition ye Towne for ten Ackers of Land or as much as ye Town sees meat to be Laid out between Mr. Sam'll Ston's and Sam'll Goldthrits for ye use of ye Ministry for this Precinct and to apply to ye Selectmen for ye Inserting ye same in ye Warent for that end." (This location was between Foster and Washington Streets, on the south side of Main Street.) This application for a Minister's lot, caused the other parishes to ask for lots also, and on March 24, 1711/12, the town was asked to grant ten acres to each of the outlying precincts and 20 acres to the First Parish. The voters refused to do this, but voted to grant half an acre to the New Chapell lately erected for the use of the minister. This was soon after Mr. Prescott was called to the Middle Parish. This half acre grant was not laid out for several years. In 1715, the selectmen of Salem were asked to lay it out, and it was done that year. It included the vicinity of the Universalist Church building (Main Street) extending towards the Square. Part of this land was afterwards conveyed to Rev. Mr. Holt, the second minister, and the remainder continued in the possession of the ministry until 1818, when it was sold to Matthew Hooper for \$1500.00.

The town of Salem refused to grant more land to the various precincts; but when, in 1714, there was a division of Common Rights, five acres were granted to the Commoners of each of the four churches. These were located on the left of the old Boston road (Boston street) going towards Poole's Bridge (corner of Main and Howley streets) between the Glasshouse Field (corner of Aborn and Ord streets) and the Sheep Pasture (Cedar Grove Cemetery). The church lots lay on the southerly side of Sutton street, parallel to the Boston Road. This land also was sold in 1845 for \$600.00 and the proceeds of all the ministry lands of the Middle Precinct forms a fund which has at times been invested in a parsonage, and at other times kept at interest. No time was lost by the inhabitants of the Middle Precinct after the land grant on November 10th, for the first entry in the Church Records begins:

At a general meeting of ye Inhabitants of ye Middle Precinct of Salem this 28th of Nouember 1710—

Voted—Capt. Sam'l Gardner Chosen Moderator

Voted—Jno. Gardner Chosen Clark

Voted—That there be a Conuenient meeting hous Bult for ye Publick Worship of God: with all Conuenient speed in this middle Precinct and that it be erected on ye peace of Ground granted by the Town for that end.

Voted—Chosen a Committee for them or ye major part of them to agree with sutable persons to build the aforesaid meetinghous: and that thay shall haue power to Call ye Inhabitants together as accation shall Sarue: Viz: Capt. Sam'll Gardner Mr. Jno. Trask: Sen'r: Mr. James: Holton—Mr. Sam'll Cutler: Mr. Jno Nurse Mr. Sam'll Stone Mr. Jon'a Mash Mr. Jn'o Felton Mr. Will'm King Mr. Thorndick Procter Mr. Abell Gardner Mr. Abr'a Pearse. Mr. Jn'o Watons

The site chosen for the new meeting house is that now occupied by the South Congregational Church in Peabody. The original grant of a quarter of an acre was in some way increased to an acre. Work was at once begun as shown by the second entry in the Church Records:

Nouember ye 30: At a meeting of ye aforesaid Commity: and Agreed that ye bulding be: 48 feat Long and 35 feat wid and 24 feat stud so as to haue two Galaris.

Agread: That Mr. Sam'll Cutler Mr. Robert Willson, Mr. Jno. Waters Be Undertakers for ye workmanship of ye Hous and are to haue 2s 9d. per Day: for so many days as thay work from this present time till ye 10 day of March next and then 3s per day so long as ye Commity sees Good.

Agreed: That other Carpenders haue 2s 6d.² per day for so many days as thay work: and men that work with A Narro Ax to haue 2s. per Day

The following "Janawary ye 15 Day—1710/11—At a Meeting of ye Commity thay being all present except Able Gardner & Jno. Waters—Agreed: That their be a Janarall Meeting Warned to be on ye 23 day of this Enstant month at ten of ye klock in ye fore nune at ye Hous of Mr. James

2 Colonial Shilling, 16 $\frac{2}{3}$ c.

Holton³ to Consider about Petetion ye Town for a peas of Land for ye ministry; and allso to Consider about other nesesity thing for ye Carring on of ye work of Building ye Meeting Hous." And a week later—"At a Gen'll Meeting of ye Inhabitants of ye Middle Precinct of Salem this 23 day of Janawary 1710: Voted: Jno. Gardner as a Tresuer to Reseue ye Subscriptions and to Pay as there shall be accation for ye Carrying on of ye Work of Building Voted: That ye Subscriptions be paid in at three payments A theird each pament ye furst to be paid by ye first of March 1710 Ye next to be paid by ye furst of June next—ye theird to be paid By ye first of Nouember following. After meeting ye Gratie Commity meet and agreed that ye meeting hous to be bult should be fifty one fut Long and theirty ayte fut broad."

On "March ye 8, 1710/11 A meeting of ye Commity. Agreed: that ye Carpenders imply such men as they think sutable for framing: Agreed that ye Lower part of ye Galaris Gurts be ayt fut and half from ye flower all round Agreed: that ye frunt Galleri gurt be so far forward as to make 6 seats and ye end Galleri Gurts be so far forword as to make 5 seats. Agreed: that from ye sid whear ye Pulput is to ye doer or alley be 18 fut and half and that ye A Beams be soported with Eyern bars Got and maid ready and sutible at ye works."

SUMS OF MONEY REC'D OF SEVERAL PERSONS TOWARD THE
BUILDING THE NEW MEETING HOUSE.

23-11-1710		£ s d
	of James Houlton	5
24-11-1710		
	of Jno Holton Sr.	5- 4- 6
1-1711	of Abra. Pearce	4-19-12
2-12	of Wm. King	2-
19-12	of Sam Golethite J	1- 9- 6
26-12	of dau'd Ffoster	2-
27-12	of Jno Nurse	4-
27-12	of Jos. doutey	1-
6-1	of Nath Holton J	2-
9-1	of Jno. King J	1- 5

3 This house, 50 Prospect street, was later the home of Thorndike Proctor. It descended to his son Jonathan, his grandson Jonathan and his great-grandson Thorndike Proctor. It was burned in 1816. A new house, the present brick structure, was built, and became the home of his nephew, Benjamin T. Earle, and later of his son, Thorndike Proctor Earle.

16-1	of Wid. Cutler	0- 7
18-2-1711	of Jno Trask S	5-
7-3	of Sam'll Gardner	17-
1-4	of Jno Jacobs	1-
5-4	of Ez. Marsh	2- 5-
5-4	of Wm. King	1-10
6-5	of Nath. felton S	2-
18-5	Rec'd a gift	— 15-
1-6	of Sholton Holton	1-
8-6	of Jos. Flint	1-
22-6	A gift of Mr. Green	— 10-
7-7	of Abel Gardner	5-
11-7	of Thorndike procter	1-15
17-7	of Rich'd waters	2-
1-8	of Jno. Trask J	3
24-11	of Thorndik procter	6-11
1-12	of Sam'll Endicot	1- 6
19-12	of Nath Felton Senr.	2- 6
19-12	of Sam Marble	5-07-00
21-12	of Sam Holton	2-03-09
27-12	of Benja. procter	3-09-00
27-12	of Jonth. Nurse	1-05-00
27-12	of Benja. Nurse	13-01-13
8-1	of Sam Stone Senr.	4-06-00
10-1	of S Cook, Cooper	1-10-02-10
24-1	of Benjamin Very	4-16-03-05-03
3-3	of St. Small S	2-07-00
29-3	of Jacob Read	2-19-00
5-4	of St. Smal S	2-03-00
5-4	of Wm. Osburn S	1-03-05
3-5	of Jno. Trask S	5-06-10
18-5	of Jno. Holton S	3-05-00
31-5	of Daud. Ffoster	— 10-01-05
5-6	A gift of Mr. Green	— 10-01-10
22-6	of N. Holton Junr.	2-03-00
22-6	of Jnth. felton	1-01-10
8-7	of Jno. Trask Junr.	2-07-00
11-7	of Jnth. Mash	1-02-15
21-7	of Jno. Trask Junr	2-04-01
		<hr/>
		124-04
		3
		<hr/>
		127-04
		114-12
		<hr/>
		012-11

1-8-1711—Reckned with ye Comitty Concerning the money Reseued of Seueral persons towards bulding the meeting hous and their is yet in my hands ye Sum of twelue pounds—A leauen shilins and un pens which is the balans of this account.

1-8-1711	of Jno. Nurs 2-10s.	
12-8	of Mr. Kitchin 3	5-10-00
15-8 1711	of Ezeceel Marsh J 15-8. of James Holton 3-1	4- ?
15-8	of Benj. Nurs J 30.8. of Benj. Very 2-	3- 0
8-9	of Abram. Pers 4-14-	4-14-
30-9	of Richard Waters 1-	1- 5.14
30-10	of Sam'll Marvel 2-00.30-10. of Jno. Felton, S. 1-	3-00
3-11	of Jacob Read 3-00 28-11. of Jonerthn Nurs 1-4	4-04
28-11	of Jno. Nurs, 10 s. and of Benj. Nurs 5 s.	0.15
9-12	of Jno. Felton, Junr. 1-18s.19-11, of Mr. Danil. Epes, 10s	11-18
23-12	of George Jacobs, 3-4 day of ye furst munth 1712 of Sam'll Felton 1-14	4.14
23-1	of Abel Gardner 4-17-2 of Sam'll Trask 1-	5-00
18-3	of Thorndick Procter 1-15s. 2-4, of Wd. Green 10s.	2-05
7-4	of Sam'll Goldthrith, Junr. 2s. 18-8 of Richard Waters 1	1-02
4-3-1713	of Nath. Felton s. 2 4-3 of Benj. Procter 5-10s.	7-10
26-7	of Mrs. Endicoth 5	5-00

ACC'T OF MONEY PAID TOWARDS BUILDING
THE MEETING HOUSE.

10-8-1711		
pd for 5 lb lath nails 18d	pd ye turner 3s	0 04 6
Bought 2 lb and 40 foot of Bord £1-2s	Payed	
mr Cutler 7s		1 09 0
pd ye Glasour £2	Pyd ye Journers £4	Bought 3m
of Lath 5-7		7 07 0
Bou't tickin and Silk for ye Coshen 4s 5d.	pd Jos	
Pope £3 10s for Saw		3 14 5

Pd for 2½ of Pin Bord 10s. Oct 23 Pay'd to mr. Cutler £2 3s	2 13 0
Pd to Rob't Willson £2 Pd to Jno Waters £2	4 00 0
pd ye Glasor £1 Bought ½ Deck nales 2s 6d. B't 2 lb bord nales	1 04 0
pd for our Glas 1s 10d pd for bolts eand eyrns 5s	0 06 10
pd to Nuel for windo frames £1 10s. Pd mr Rogers 5s	1 15 0
5-10-1711	
pd ½ of lb Deck nales 2s 6d. pd for a quir of paper 1s 3d pd ye sumonses £5	5 03 9
pd ye Glasor £2. Pd Rob. Bufom for eyrons for ye bel 7s	2 07 0
pd nuel for windo frames 5s. pd for ½ Cord of wornot wood for Lime	06 0 0 12 0
?-2-1712	
pd ye Glasor £2 15s ye hol of what was due. pd for ye vaine £4	6 15 0
pd to Sam'll King £2. Pd. to mr Curtis £2 10s. Pd for 1½m of Bord 3 15s	7 15 0
pd for ye Eyorns for ye pulput 7s6d 17s to Simons	1 04 0
?-12-1713	
pd to mr Simons 2s. pd to mr Curtis £2 10s	2 12 0
pd for one lb of decknales 5s for hinges and lath nales 6s	0 11 0
pd for Paper and Lath nales 7-10. pd to Mr. Cutler £1 10s	1 17 10
?-7-1713	
Paid to Mr. Simonss £5 for ye hole that was due	5 00 0
Paid for A latch 3s Paid Capt. Sam'll Gardiner 11s 6d when Chosin to Go to boston when we war Rated to ye Mines in ye Town	0 14 6
Paid James phillips for Expences at Haling the timber & help	02 02 6
Pd Mrs. Hacket for bread 15s.	
pd Wm. porter for timber 8s,	01 03 0
Pd for 4½ thousand Clabords	13 16 9
Pd for 15 thousand Shingle £10 15s for help & drinck 3s 3d	10 18 3
pd for the frait of 5 m planck at 18/	04 10 0
pd for the frait of 7½m boards at 9/	03 07 6
pd for a hand to help Raft & load the planck & boards	00 07 0

pd Dau'd Ffoster towards the planck & boards	40 00 0
pd for fitting the gon block 18d	
pd for making a ladder 3s	00 04 6
pd for 1 lb 20d nails 20d & for paper 18 d	00 03 2
pd for Syder bread & Cheese when the planck was unloaden	00 02 0
pd Jno Tarbal Senr for Sawing	01-10- 3
pd Mr Kitchin for 2m bord nails	
12s & 1m Claboard nails 6s6d	01 10 6
pd to Mr. Nath felton senr to buy nails	01 00 0
pd Sam'll Cutler for Sawing	01 10 0
pd more to Dau'd Ffoster toward the planck & Boards	09 10 0
pd for 5 hogsheads of lime 22/	05 10 0
pd for 5 lb deck nails at 4s & 3m Clabord nails 6s 6d	01 19 6
pd for 3m Clabord nails 6/16 & 1½m lath nails 3s 3d	01 04 4
pd for 1m board nails 1s 3d & for 1m large board nails 13s 6d	01 19 6
pd more to Jno Tarbal Sen'r for Sawing	00 09 8
pd for 2 lb deck nails 5s & pd for A new book 7s	00 17 0
pd mr flints for 1m pitch pine boards	02 00 0
pd for turning 6 pillars at 5s	01 10 0
pd for 6 lb lath & A doar Lock	00 09 0
pd for 150 foot glass with the Charge	04 13 0
to ½ cord walnot wood 5s	
pd N. N? for 5 days work 15s	01 00 0
pd for 1m large board nails 13s 6d	
3m Clabord nails 6s 6d	01 13 0
pd for 5 lb Clabord nails 3s 3d & 1m lath nails 3s	00 06 3
	<hr/>
	114 12 5

Work on the building went on steadily and the following June 6 the Rev. Joseph Green, minister of Salem Village Church (Danvers Highlands) noted in his diary: "I went to ye raising at Capt. Gardner's new meeting house." (Capt. Samuel Gardner's house was on the north-erly corner of Central and Elm Streets.) House raisings were usually festive affairs, but either this was a very decorous one or the festivities were paid for by individuals, for the only item of refreshments appearing in the parish accounts at that time is the very modest entry "pd. for

Syder, Bread & Cheese when the planck was unloaden, 2 s."

Among the items of the "Acc't of money paid towards building the Meeting House" we find, in 1711—"pd. Rob. Bufom for eyrons for ye bel, 7s." "Paid 3 pound had of Mr. Rich for ye bell" and in 1712 "pd for ye vaine, 4 pounds." The bell was hung in a small belfry in the center of the house, and was the cause of much discussion and some expense. In the church warrant of 1723 appears a clause "to Consider of some way to gett up to the Belfry withinside of ye meeting house, In Case any Disaster should happen to the Rope or Bell." This was repeated in the warrant each year but apparently nothing was done. In March, 1726, it was "Voted that their Shall be a way up to the Bell withinside of the meeting House Voted that it shall be left with the Committee or assessors to agree with some person to make the way up to the Bell or Doe it in the best or most Convenient way or method that the sd. Committee shall think Fitt and Also it is left with the above sd. Committee to Raise the money to pay for the way up to the Bell, In what way or manner the above sd. Committee shall think most suitable and Convenient." But it was not until Dec. 1737 that the entry of "10/ for building Stairs up to ye Bell" shows that the work was finally done.

Glass, in those days, was scarce and costly, so there were few windows in the meeting house. This made the interior dark, and there were complaints from the pew-holders. In May, 1712, it was "Voted that they which haue no windos in their Puse have Leafte to Cut sum out Prouided they maintain them at their one charge." In 1726 "Voted that Daniel Marble shall have leave to cut an Window out of the side of the meeting house against his pew, he the sd. Marble maintaining the same from time to time." And occasionally action was taken "to consider of some way to pay for ye Glass or Windows broken." Or "Agred with Capt. Samuel gardner to get the glas mended and fastned the window In the gallery." In 1723, it was "Voted That the present Comittee should see to the mending the winders which is Broken and do it."

TO all People to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting.
Know ye, That I Benjⁿ Prescott of Salem in the

County of Essex in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New
England Clerk

For and in Consideration of the Sum of One Hundred and Twenty Six Pounds
to me in hand before the Ensealing hereof, well and truly paid by John Osborn of
the Same Town Yeoman

the Receipt whereof I do hereby acknowledge,
and my self therewith fully satisfied and contented, and thereof, and of every part
and parcel thereof, do enonerate, acquit and discharge him the said John Osborn
his Heirs, Executors and Administrators
for ever by these Presents: HAVE given, granted, bargained, sold, aliened, conveyed and
confirmed, and by these Presents, Do freely, fully and absolutely give, grant, bargain, sell,
aliene, convey and confirm, unto him the said John Osborn, his

Heirs and Assigns for ever, A cer-
tain Tract of Land lying in Salem aforesaid, containing Seven
Acres more or less Being the whole of the Land to me sett
off in the South side Division (so called) of the Common Land
in Salem aforesaid, For Three Rights and an half Right
Bounded Northerly on the Country Road Westerly Partly
on Land laid out to John Paxton & Partly on the South side
Pasture Southerly on Land laid out to the Ministry and Easter-
ly on Land in the Possession of Dan^l Harrington, or howe-
ver otherwise bounded or reputed to be bounded.

To have and to hold, the said granted and bargained Premises, with all the
Appurtenances, Privileges and Commodities to the same belonging, or in any wise apper-
taining to him the said John Osborn, his
Heirs and Assigns for ever. To him and their only proper Use, Benefit and Behoof for ever.

And I the said Benjⁿ Prescott
for me, my Heirs, Executors and Administrators, do Covenant, Promise and Grant to and with
him the said John Osborn, his

Heirs and Assigns, that before the Ensealing hereof, I am the true sole and lawful Owner of
the above-bargained Premises, and am lawfully seized and possessed of the same in my own
proper Right, as a good, perfect and absolute Estate of Inheritance in Fee Simple: And have in
myself good Right, full Power, and lawful Authority, to grant, bargain, sell, convey and
confirm, said bargained Premises, in manner as aforesaid: And that the said John
Osborn, his

Heirs and Assigns, shall and may
from Time to Time, and at all Times forever hereafter, by force and virtue of these Pre-
sents, lawfully, peaceably and quietly Have, Hold, Use, Occupy, Possess and Enjoy the said
demised and bargained Premises, with the Appurtenances free and clear, and freely and
clearly acquitted, exonerated and discharged of, from all and all manner of former or o-
ther Gifts, Grants, Bargains, Sales, Leases, Mortgages, Wills, Entails, Joyntures, Dowries,
Judgments, Executions, or Incumbrances of what Name or Nature soever, that might in
any measure or degree obstruct or make void this present Deed.

Furthermore, I the Bⁿ Benjⁿ Prescott

for myself & my Heirs,
the said John Osborn, his
Heirs and Assigns, against the lawful Claims or Demands of any Person or Persons whatsoever, for
ever hereafter to Warrant, Secure and Defend by these Presents. In the Witness where-
of, I have hereunto set my Hand & Seal this tenth

Day of Jan^y 1738 Together with Mary my wife in token of her
consent and assent to the Right of Power of this Deed in & thereunto.

in presence of us

John Osborn of Salem
Gentleman

Benjⁿ Prescott

Mercy Prescott

DEED OF LAND FROM REV. BENJAMIN PRESCOTT TO JOHN OSBORN

With signatures of the pastor and his wife, 1738

The meeting house was finished in the fall, and on October 5, 1711, "Legally warned, Voted: That we will set Apart A day for fasting and prayer and Humbly wat on God therin for his gracious presence and Gidence in all our affairs and perticularly in ye Calling of A minister. That God would direct in that waighty Cosearn to such a Person as may be a blessing to ye place. Voted: That Capt. Sam'll Gardner, Mr. Stone, Mr. Trask, Jun'r, Mr. Jno. Nurs, Mr. Holton, Ar Chosen A Commity for ye Granting of Piewes and ye seating of ye meetinghous and what they or ye majr Part of them shall Doe or act therein at A Meeting of ye above said Commity whear all whear notified theirof: Shall be to all int. and Purposes firm and binding." This meeting was attended by Rev. Joseph Green who notes in his diary—"I went to ye fast at Capt. Gardner's new Meeting house. Mr. Chever began. I preached from 10th Neh. 23 v. Mr. Blower preached from 3rd of Psalms. My father [in-law] Gerish gave ye blessing." The following month, on "Nouember ye 16 day 1711, Legally warned Whereas through ye Good Prouidence of God ye Inhabitants of this Precinct haue bult a meetinghous for ye publick worship of God amongst themselus which is ney finished—wherefor in order to obtain an othradox minister to be settled amongst us—Voted that Capt. Sam'll Gardner, Mr. Sam'll Stone, Mr. Sam'll Marbel, Mr. James Holton and Mr. Dauid forster ar Chosen a Commity thay or majr. part of them to inquier after and Consider of A Sutable person or persons for that seruise and to inuite sd. to preach to us as thay in their discession shall think meet. And thos persons that so preach to us shal be paid for their pains as ye said Commity Can Agree with them: and that their by A Contribution euery Saboth day for that end, and if that shall fall short then to be maid up by a rate on ye Inhabitants and this to Continu till further order, in ye Afermitiue. Voted." On November 25, 1711, Rev. Joseph Green writes in his diary: "This was the first Sabbath that ye people met in ye Meeting House by Col. Gardner's. Mr. Whiteing preached."

On February 17, 1711/12, the Inhabitants were summoned "for ye Chusing of a Minister to be settled amongst us." Three candidates had been heard—the Rev. John Barnard, a graduate of Harvard College in 1709, Mr. Sutchclif (probably Rev. Wm. Shurtleff) and Mr. Benjamin Prescott.

Mr. Prescott was born in Concord, Massachusetts, the son of Capt. Jonathan and Elizabeth (Hoar) Prescott, September 16, 1687 and was graduated from Harvard College in 1709. When he preached in the Middle Precinct he was betrothed to Elizabeth Higginson and brought her here as his bride. She died in 1723 leaving five children. In 1732 he married Mercy Gibbs, who died in 1744 leaving one son. His third wife was Mary (Pepperell), widow of John Frost, and of Rev. Benjamin Colman, and sister of Sir William Pepperell, who in 1750, built them the house at 72 Central Street.

The church agreed "That if Mr. Prescott Cums and settles with us we will pay yearly to him ye sum of 80 Pounds in Province Bills, or in silver money as it passes from man to man. So long as he continues to be our minister."

On March 4, 1711/12, a general meeting of the parish was held to choose a minister. Only the qualified male voters of the precinct were allowed to vote, the qualifications being the same as for voting in town affairs,⁴ but those who could not attend were allowed to vote by proxy. The names of the three candidates were presented and the clerk writes in the Church Record "The person chosen to be our Minister is Mr. Benjamin Prescott."

At last, the church was finished, the minister chosen and it seemed as if the long and bitter contest for separation from the First Parish of Salem was over. But it was too soon to expect peace.

As soon as the meeting house was completed, arrangements were made for the old custom of "seating the meeting house." The seats were assigned, first, according to

⁴ Only a Freeman might vote or hold office, and membership in the Congregational Church was necessary before a man might become a Freeman.

age, then office, and last, taxes. After the aged were seated, then came the Captain, the Lieutenant, the Ensign and the Corporal. Thus the records speak of Captain Samuel Gardner

Lieutenant Thomas Putnam

Ensign Cornelius Tarbell

Corporal Samuel Twist

Deacon Malachi Felton

Daniel Eppes, Esquire.

Families were separated, the men on one side, the women on the other, rough benches serving as seats in the body of the house.

“At a meeting of ye Committe appointed for seating ye meeting hous, Ye 8 day—12, 1713: That Jno. Waters shall haue ye Pew to ye westward of Nath'l Feltons Pew for his wife and family and that said Waters is seated in ye front for seat in ye Galary and that James Gold is seated in ye long seat below whare Jacob Read seats and that Jacob Read is seated in ye Short far seat whare Sam'll King is seated. And that Jacob Reads wif is seated with Sam'll Kings wife.” The complete record of the first seating was not entered in the Church Record Book until somewhat later:

“A Record of the Pews.”	Deep	Wide
At ye Est end of ye Pulpit ye Ministry Pew	5 11	5 0
Ye Next Widdo and Samuel Endicut Pew	5 11	5 0
Ye Next John Trask Junr. Pew	5 11	5 1
Ye Next Samuel Cutler at ye East end in ye Cor'r.	6 1	7 8
Ye Next Capt. Samuel Gardner & Jno. Gardner in one	6 1	9 2
Ye Next Abell Gardner between ye Dore & ye Stairs	5 3	
Ye Next Benj'n Verry at South Side next East Stairs	5 8	
Ye Next Thorndick Procter	5 8	5 1½
Ye Next John Trask Sen'r	5 8	5 1½
Ye Next Mr. Daniel Epps— Next ye South Dore	5 8	5 4½
Ye Next Samuel Stone Sen'r at ye W'st side of ye South Dore	5 8	5 4½

Ye Next John Felton Sen'r	5	8	5	1½
Ye Next Nathaniel Felton Sen'r	5	8	5	1½
Ye Next Benj. Porter. Between ve West Dore & Stairs	5	4	6	2
Ye Next James Houlton. Ye Nort sid ye West Dore	5	8	5	8
Ye Next John Nurse	5	8	5	6
Ye Next Benj. Procter at ye N'th Side in ye Corner	5	11	7	7
Ye Next Samuel Marble	5	11	5	1
Ye Next Robbort Willson Sen'r. next ye Pulp't Stairs	5	11	5	5

A RECORD OF YE FURST SEATING OF YE MEETINGHOUS.

In ye three short seats before ye Pulput are seated—

In ye first seat—Sam'll Gardner, Jno. Trask Sen'r, Sam'll Stone Sn'r—Jam's Holton

In ye second—Jno. Felton Sen'r, Jno. Nurse, Sam'll Goldthrit Sen'r, Wm. Orsborn, Daudid Forster Sen'r.

In ye Third—Thomas Bufenton, Sam'll Frayl, Jno. Forster Sen'r, Sam'll Forster, George Jacobs.

In ye West Body of Seats are seated: in ye furst—Jno. Waters, Benj. Very Sam'll King, Ezek. Goldthrit, Capt. Sam'll Gardners Farm.

In ye Second—Wm. Shaw, Rob't Molton, Ant'y Needham, Jno. Pudney, Peter Twist, Sr.

In ye Third—Jon'er King, Israel Shaw, Peter Twist, Jun'r, Jno. Southwick, Ebenezer Felton.

In ye Body of Long seats belo are seated—

In ye First Seat—Steauen Small, Nat. Felton Jun'r, Wm. King, Eben'z Cutler Joner'th Marsh, Ezech. Marsh, Jac'b Read, Jno. Procter, Josp'h Flint.

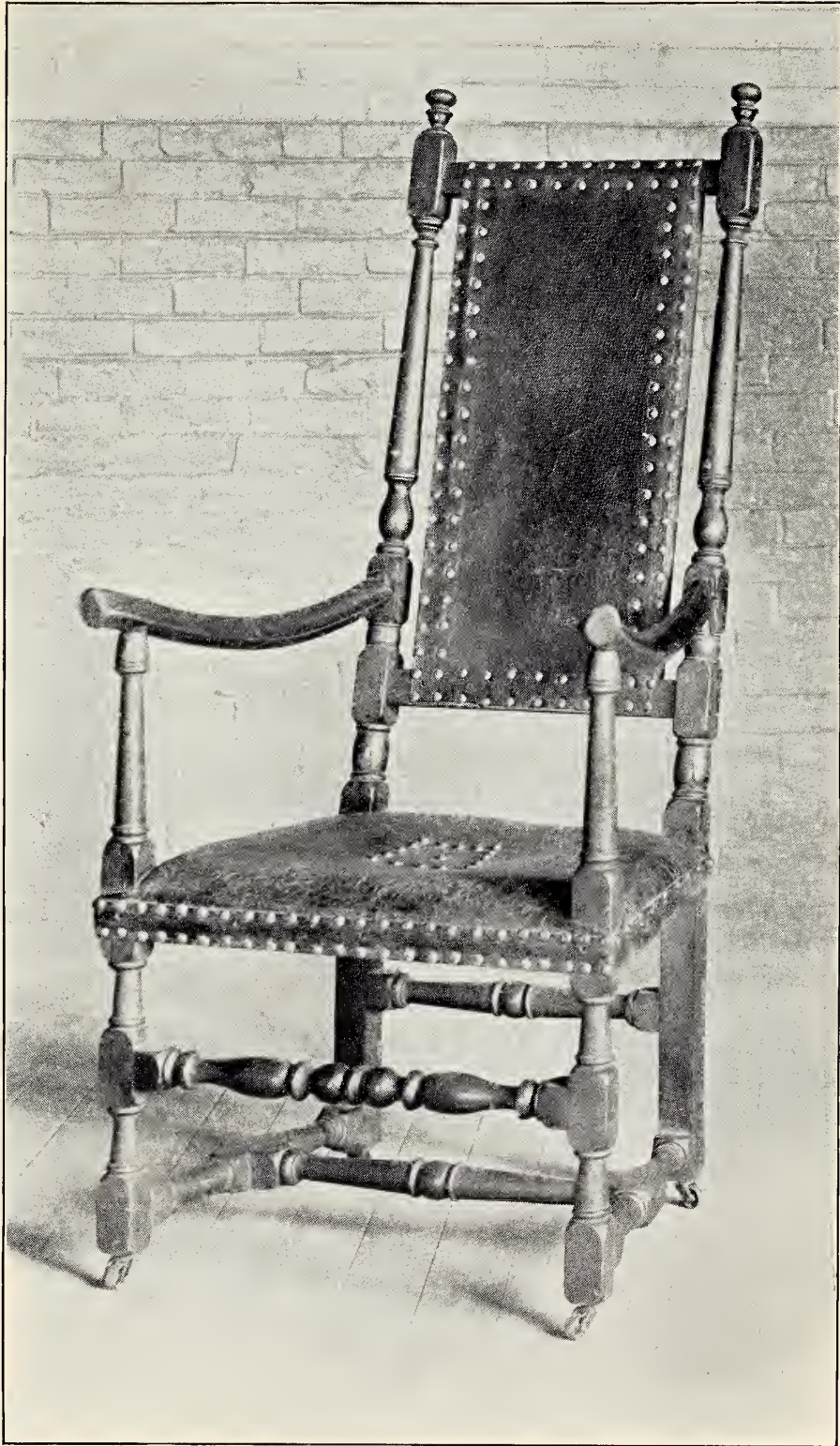
In ye Second—Jno. Slapp, Josep'h Boys, Jno. Molton, Ant'y Needham Jun'r Isuk Tolit, Tho'ms Gold.

In ye Third—Jno. Burton, Jno. Harwood, Dau'd Harwood, Jno. Pudney, Jun'r, Tho'mas Green, Jno. Bacon, Dau'd Boys, Free Marush, Jno. Very.

IN YE EAST BODY OF YE WOMAN 'S SEAT BELO

In ye Fust seat, Abra'm Perce His Wife, Jno. Waters His Wife, Ezek. Gold'rt His W. Sam'll King his W.

In ye Second: Thomas Bufenton his Wife. Widdo Flint. Sam'll Frail his Wife Josep'h Dowty his W. Joseph Gold his W.



PARSON PRESCOTT CHAIR

In possession of the Peabody Historical Society

In ye Theird: Joner'n King His Wife, Isral Shaw his W.
Pet' Twest his W. Jno. Southrick his W. Eben'z Fel-
ton his W.

In ye Theird: Will'm Shaw his Wife Rob'rt Molton his
Wife, Widdo Dagit, Peter Twist his Wife,

In ye Body of long womens seats belo—In ye furst seat—

Mis't Buxton, Sam'll Goldthrit Sen'r, his wyfe, Widdo Cook,
Dauid Foster his W. Steu'n Small His W. Sam'll Gard-
ner his farm, Nath'l Felton His W. Jno. Procter His
W-, Ebenezer Cutler his W. Jacob Read his W-.

In ye second seat: Widdo King- W'd Very- W'd Waters-
W'd Shaflin- Jno. Forster his W- Sam'll Foster his W-
Jno. Robonson His Wife.

In ye Theird: Jno. Molton His Wife- An't Nedham his W-
Tho'm Gold his W- W'd Losey- Wd Very W'd Read- W'd
French- Thomas Mackindere his W-.

In ye Frunt Body of seats in ye Gallary: In ye Furst seats:—

Will'm King His wife- Jon'er Marsh his Wife- Eze'l Mars
His W- Will'm Orsburn his W- Sam'll Goldthrit Jun'r
His W-.

In ye Second: Josep'h Horn His Plaice- Jacob Manin His
P: Will'm Gidney His P. Rober't Ston. His P: Maj:
Brow His P:

In ye Body of Women seats in ye Gallary: Atte ye East end-

In ye furst seats Jon'er Harwood his wife- Sam'll Cook
His w- Sam'll Cook Ju'nr his W: Jno. King his W-
Richard Waters his W- Sam'll Felton His W- Jam's
Goold his W- Will Curtis His W- Daniel Macin't his
W- Na'th Tomkims His W- Na't Waters his W- Josep'h
Flint His W- Jno. Jacobs His W-.

In ye second: Abel Gardner His Farm Plas. Tom's Nead-
ham His W- Eben'z Forster His W- John Marsh His
W- Eben'z Molton His W- Benjamin Pope his Wife

In ye Frunt Body of mens seats in ye Gallery: In ye firs Seat-
Jonerthon Harwood: Sam'll Goldth't: Sam'll Cook:
Sam'll Cook Juner: Will'm Orsburn: Henry Cook: John
King Richard Waters- James Goold Sam'll Felton
William Curtis

In ye second: Josep'h Horns Plase: Jacob Mannin his Plase-
Will Gedney His P- Robert Ston His P- Maj. Brow
His P- Abel Gardner H. P. Thomas Macentier.

In ye West Body of mens seats in ye Gallery: Dani'l Mac-
intier- Nat'h Waters Jno. Jacobs- Joner'n Nurs, Joseph
Dowty- John Tarbol- Joseph Goold- Na'th Tomkins,

Benj: Nurs- Sam'll Stone Ju'n- Skelton Felton- Rob-
 bort Stone- Sam'll Perse.
 In ye second: Thom's Needham- Eben'z Forster- Jno. Marsh-
 Eben'z Molton: George Flint- Benj. Pope- Robbort
 Willson- Isuck Willson- Jno. Felton- Sam'll Pudney-
 Joner'n Felton
 In the second Short Seat before the puput Is Seated Steauen
 Small
 In the third: Eben'z Cutler- John Slapp- Petor Twest-
 Robard molton-
 In the body of the long Seats belo- In the fore seat is Seated-
 Anthony needham- Danol Mackentiah
 Thomas needham In the front galery Thomas mackentiah-
 Jonathan Pudne
 In the fore seat of the west end of the mens galery— Samuel
 Pudne- georg Flent
 In the second seat belo at the west End-
 Danel Mackentiah's wife Is seated In the front long Seat
 belo- wimons seat antony needhams wife In the Short
 front below-
 Samuel pudne and georg flints wives are Seated in the
 Second Short seat belo at the Est End.

FOR ACCOUNT OF MONY LAYED OUT UPON AND FOR YE
 MEETINGHOUSE AND YE PROPRIETORS DISBURSEMENTS
 WHEN RATED BY YE TOWN.

Paid Mr. Pall Dudley	2 00 0
Paid Mr. Adington	0 15 6
Paid Capt. Price for Copies	0 2 9
Paid for a Latch of ye Doer	0 4 3
Paid Wd. Parnal for Sweaping ye meeting house	0 10 0
Paid Mr. Gues for mending ye Glas	0 16 0
Paid Mis't Willson	6 0 0
Paid Wd. Parnal & Green for Sweap meeting house	0 10 0
Paid for ? of bords and 1½ lb bord nales	0 13 9
Paid Cooper Cooke for Casing ye two ternpost and mending up ye women Seats	1 00 0
Paid 3 pound had of Mr Rich for ye bell	3 00 0
Paid Jno Smith for mending ye Glas & fastning up ye windos	0 11 11
Paid Decon Cutler by Mr. Prescot	1 05 0

The officers of the First Parish made out their list of rates as usual, sending them to those who had formerly paid rates, quite ignoring the new church in the Middle

Precinct and its new minister. The indignant members of the Middle Precinct sent a committee to the General Court to report their grievance, and ask relief against the tax, which was being pressed with the full vigor of the law. The committee was chosen October 13th, 1712, and obtained speedy justice, for on October 30th the General Court "Resolved and declared that the said Precinct, being set off by the order of this Court, & having worthily performed their engagement in erecting a convenient meeting-house for the publick worship of God & settled a worthy and orthodox Minister & provided an honorable support for him, They are not further chargeable to the support of the Ministry in the body of the Town, being no longer of the audience there; and the assessment made lately upon the inhabitants of the Precinct for the Ministry in the body of the Town by the Selectmen and Assessors and all warrants issued for the collection and distraining for the same be & are superceded and made null and void."

This stopped the collection of rates for the First Parish, but Mr. Noyes of the First Parish was still unwilling to dismiss them from his church. On June 10th, 1713, Rev. Joseph Green writes in his Diary: "I went to Salem lecture. Mr. Noyes very stiff against dismissing ye new Parish. June 24th. I went to Salem Lecture and had some warm discourse with Mr. Noyes about ye new Parish."

Tradition says that the men of the Middle Parish were so discouraged that they proposed to give up to the stubborn Mr. Noyes, but the women protested. They were determined to have the separation and dismissal from the First Parish. So the following letter was sent to the Rev. Mr. Noyes, signed by 26 women and 11 men. This was a remarkable action, for in those days, women were expected to keep silence in the churches—and everywhere else!

Salem, April 24, 1713.

To the Rev'd Nicholas Noyes, Teacher of the Church in Salem, [the early churches had two ministers, a Teacher and a Preacher] and to the Church of Christ there: Hon'd, Rev'd.

and Beloved: WHEREAS it hath pleased our gracious God to smile upon our endeavors for the erecting of an house for the carrying on the public worship of God, and settling a minister amongst us, and we being called by divine providence (as we apprehend)to settle a particular church according to the Gospel, under the ministry of the Rev'd Mr. Benj. Prescott: Our humble request to yourselves is that you will please to dismiss us and our children with your approbation and blessing, to be a church of ourselves, and until we are so, with the consent and approbation of the Elders and messengers of the churches that shall assist at the ordination of the Rev'd Mr. Prescott, to continue members of the Salem Church, and as there shall be occasion to assist and help us, especially by your prayers unto the God of all grace, that in so great affair we may be directed and assisted to proceed in all things according to the will of God, unto whom be glory in the church by Jesus Christ, throughout all ages, world without end.

Your unworthy bretheren and sisters living within the bounds of the Middle District in Salem.

Hanna King	Hanna Foster
Judah Mackintire	Abigail French
Elizabeth Nurse	Elizabeth Gyles
Sarah Robinson	Elizabeth Goldthwaite
Ales Shafflin	Hanna Goldthwaite
Hanna Small	Deborah Good
Hanna Southwick	Elizabeth King
Mary Tompkins	Samuel Gardiner
Elizabeth Verry	Sam'l Goldthwait, sen.
Jemima Verry	Abraham Pierce
Sarah Waters	John Foster
Elizabeth Waters	John Felton
Susanna Daniel	David Foster
Martha Adams	Abel Gardiner
Elizabeth Cook	Samuel Godlthwaite
Sarah Gardiner	William King
Elizabeth Gardiner	Richard Waters
Isabel Pease	Robert Pease
Hanna Felton	

(To be continued)

DIARY OF JONATHAN LARCOM OF BEVERLY, MASSACHUSETTS

This diary was written in 1817 while he was toll keeper at the Essex Bridge which connects Beverly and Salem. He was born on September 15, 1768, at Beverly, and died there June 14, 1834. (Copied from Beverly Vital Records and Larcom Bible.) He was an uncle of Lucy Larcom.

The original diary, in good condition, is in the possession of Chester Anderson Brown who received it in 1942 from his Aunt Florence Ives Brown of Haverhill, Massachusetts. This diary has been handed down in the Brown family through Nancy Ives (Perkins) Brown and Mary Ann (Larcom) Perkins.

The family line is as follows:

Mordecai ¹ Larcom	— Elizabeth (widow of Wm. Clarke) Larcom
Cornelius ² Larcom	— Abigaile (Balch) Larcom
David ³ Larcom	— Lucy (Downing) Larcom
Jonathan ⁴ Larcom	— Abigail (Ober) Larcom
Jonathan ⁵ Larcom	— Mary (Chamberlain) Larcom
	— Anna (Ober) Larcom, mother of Mary Ann
Mary ⁶ Ann (Larcom) Perkins	— Deacon George Perkins
Nancy ⁷ Ives (Perkins) Brown	— James Brown
Alberto ⁸ Clarence Brown	— Persis Tenney (Anderson) Brown
Chester ⁹ Anderson Brown	— Margaret Louise (Shorey) Brown

Footnotes have been contributed by Col. Lawrence Waters Jenkins.

December 21st, 1816. This day is cold and windy, the night following very cold and high winds . . . the harbor nearly all froze over at midnight. Mrs. Adams¹ died.

22—the cold moderates and becomes very mild continues very pleasant

Dec. 9 Maryann² taken sick

Dec. 23 Jonathan³ taken sick

January 1817. 1 Very pleasant day light S Westerly winds.

2 Pleasant day light wind N.W. *Cleopatre Barge*⁴

1 Mary, widow of John Adams of Beverly and daughter of Capt. Benjamin and Elizabeth (Giles) Ives; born June 2, 1775; married Feb. 11, 1798. She was a sister of Charlotte, wife of Benjamin Larcom (See May 9) and Capt. Samuel Ives, (see Apr. 1).

2 Mary Ann, daughter of Jonathan and Anna (Ober) Larcom, (see Mar. 14); born May 6, 1800, died Aug. 14, 1871, at Amesbury, Mass.; married Deacon George Perkins, June 6, 1819.

3 Jonathan, son of Jonathan and Anna (Ober) Larcom; born Sept. 28, 1805; died Jan. 14, 1817, (see Mar. 14).

4 Capt. George Crowninshield's famous yacht *Cleopatra's Barge*, built by Retire Becket of Salem and launched Oct. 21, 1816, was the first American yacht to visit the Mediterranean, sailing Mar. 30, 1817 and returning Oct. 3, 1817.

"The elegant equipment of this vessel, by Mr. Crowninshield, for a voyage of pleasure, as it is an entire novelty in this country, has excited universal curiosity and admiration. While she was lying at the wharf in Salem, we have heard she attracted company from various surrounding places to view so perfect a specimen of nautical architecture and sumptuous accomodation. Eighteen hundred ladies, it is asserted, visited her in the course of one day. *Cleopatra's Barge* measures about 200 tons, and is modelled after one of the swiftest sailing ships which was ever driven by the wind. Being introduced on board, you descended into a magnificent saloon, about 20 feet long and 19 broad, finished on all sides with polished mahogany, inlaid with other ornamental wood. The settees of the saloon are of splendid workmanship; the backs are shaped like the ancient lyre, and the seats are covered with crimson silk velvet bordered with a very wide edging of gold lace; two splendid mirrors, standing at either end, and a magnificent chandelier, suspended in the centre of the saloon, give a richness of effect to it, not easily surpassed. Instead of births on the sides of this hall, there are closets for the tea equipages and suit of plate for the dinner table, which are finished in a style of superior elegance. The after cabin contains sleeping accomodations for the under officers of the vessel. The conveniences for the kitchen's and steward's apartments may be considered models in their way. There are aqueducts in all parts of the vessel which require them.—" (Salem Gazette, Feb. 14, 1817.)

left the wharf stood down the bay & returned to the Harbor again.

3 Calm & pleasant weather P.M. southerly wind the circumstances of my family makes the day to me extremely distressing—death seems to be making ready to enter my door.

4 This day begins with rain & southerly winds. P.M. dull & misty wind haling in. John Peach⁵ of Marblehead died by cutting his throat.

5 Lords day. Clear weather high wind at N.W. Calm pleasant evening.

6 Moderate weather & cloudy southwardly wind.

7 Morning very pleasant weather. P.M. cloudy Light wind from N.E. my son remains most distressingly sick.

8 Moderate weather light fall of snow.

9 Clears off pleasant & thawey. Sloop⁶ *packett* sailed.

10 Begins with southerly wind & rain. P.M. wind in Clears off moderate. Several vessels⁷ arrive at Salem.

A full account of this sumptuously equipped vessel and her cruise may be found in "The Story of George Crowninshield's Yacht CLEOPATRA'S BARGE on a voyage of pleasure to the Western Islands and the Mediterranean, 1816-1817, compiled from Journals, Letters, and Log-book by Francis B. Crowninshield, Boston, Privately printed, 1913." Also of interest is "Catalog of the 'Cleopatra's Barge' Exhibition" commemorating the one hundredth anniversary of her building, Peabody Museum, Salem, 1916.

This and the visit to Gloucester on the 13th were some of her trial trips.

5 John, son of John Peach of Marblehead and his wife Elizabeth Conant of Beverly, baptized Dec. 29, 1765. He was a tenant of Robert "King" Hooper.

6 Cleared Jan. 8, sloop *Lidia*, 42 tons, of Salem, Jacob Towne, master, for Boston. Licensed for coasting trade.

7 Arrived: Sch. *Tiger*, 167 tons, of Salem, Daniel F. Tucker, master, 21 days from St. Pierre, with tobacco and hides to Joseph Peabody.

Sch. *Charles*, 109 tons, of Salem, Richard Smith, master, 12 days from Baltimore, with flour, etc.

Brig *Henry*, 184 tons, of Salem, George Burchmore, master, 35 days from Maranham, with hides, tallow, horns, etc., to Stephen White & Co.

Sch. *Agawam*, 91 tons, of Salem, Lynch Bott, master, from Wilmington, N. C., with corn, etc., to J. Bott and others.

Sch. *Reindeer*, 50 tons, of Salem, William Fabens, Jr., master, from Baltimore, with flour, corn and beans, to master.

11 A.M. pleasant sun & thawey. P.M. grows colder. Evening blustering Clear weather W.N.W.

12 Sabeth day flying clouds & high wind W. by S. Mr. Smith⁸ from New Salem preaches this day. We have some hopes this morning of Jonathan's recovery.

13 A good day for winter rather cold westerly wind. Crowningshield⁹ sailed to Gloucester. Evening N wind.

14 A small fall of snow this morning. Clears off cold at 3 P.M. my dear and much beloved son¹⁰ fell into the sleep of death. Alas my aching heart—grief, sorrow and pain swells my troubled breast. All my pleasing expectations and hopes of futer help & comfort in my promising son are by this stroke swept into the grave—may God of his mercy pour the oil of grace into our wounded hearts, reconcile us to all his treatment to us, and prepare us to depart out of this world of sin sorrow and trouble and receive us into that world where sickness and pain, sorrow and tears shall trouble us no more for ever. Aged 11 years 3 month & 15 days.

15 Moderate weather. Clouded up with wind S.E. Last night Robert Haskell Jr.¹¹ died.

16 A.M. thick weather & snowy. Wind E. Continues stormy all day but not much snow. The first Sley for the season passed the Bridge¹² this afternoon.

17 Calm & cloudy through the day. at sun down the wind spring up at S.S.E. & blows a gale with showers of rain & lightning & thunder

18 A.M. the storm is abated remains thick weather P.M. the wind in at W.N.W. blows up cold. Cloudy

8 Rev. John Smith. (See Nov. 26.)

9 Capt. Crowninshield had a very enthusiastic reception at Gloucester, many people visiting *Cleopatra's Barge*, and he was urged to stay over for a ball in the evening but declined. The guests accompanying Capt. C. must have had a good time as one of them had to be put to bed and woke up the next morning to find himself in Salem harbor.

10 See Dec. 23, 1816, and Mar. 14, 1817.

11 Aged 31 years. Married Oct. 16, 1810, Nancy, daughter of Francis and Judith (Holman) Lamson, and sister of Mrs. Sally Pickett, (see Mar. 24). He was part owner and master of sch. *Four Sisters*, 127 tons, of Beverly.

12 For an account of the "Bridge" see "The Building of Essex Bridge," by Robert S. Rantoul, E. I. H. C., v. 30, p. 53. (Apr.-June 1893).

- 19 High gale of wind & very cold W. by N
 20 Very cold & windy ice making fast W N W
 21 the clouds over the sun shines out cold yet the wind starts to N W by N very cold
 22 Very high wind last night at N W by N today clear cold & windy
 23 the wind & cold moderates & becomes cloudy.
 24 at 1 A.M. begins to snow with wind S E works round to N E a very good body of damp snow
 25 fair moderate weather fin sleying
 26 Cloudy light wind W N W some snow spits
 27 fair weather good sleding cold day wind W N W
 28 Clear & very cold wind N.W.
 29 moderate day but sharp cold a school house¹³ in Salem caught fire but soon was extinguished a Salem sloop brakes the ice & comes to W & Greens Whf¹⁴ at ½ past 10 P.M. light wind S.W. & snow
 30 fair weather & fine Sleding the Shop¹⁵ of Edwards & Lord took fire in Salem but did not burn.
 31 fair cold weather the wind for 2 days W.N.W.
 February 1st Cloudy & cold light snow the *Wenham*¹⁶ arrived light wind N.W.
 2 Calm & Cloudy a little thawey
 3 Cloudy Sprinkling of Snow wind N.N.W. the night very cold and windy hales in W.N.W.
 4 Sharp cold day Sleding very good wind W.N.W. the *Wenham*¹⁷ went to Marblehead.
 5 Clear weather & the coldest¹⁸ for the winter.

13 Parker's, formerly Biglow's, school house, near the First Baptist Meeting House on Federal Street. The roof was damaged from an overheated stove funnel.

14 Whittredge & Green's wharf, near the easterly end of Front Street, Beverly.

15 A carpenter shop on Fish, now Central, Street, between Charter and Derby Streets.

16 Sch. *Wenham*, 112 tons, of Beverly, Charles Branscom, master; licensed for coasting. (See Feb. 4, Mar. 28 and Nov. 24.)

17 See Feb. 1.

18 "On Wednesday [5th] morning last, the Thermometer in the open air in this town was down to 16 degrees below zero.—Our harbour is frozen over as far as the Haste and Coney island, an extreme unknown for several years, and a great number of persons have ventured upon the ice with their horses and sleighs, to visit the 'Cleopatra's Barge,' lying in the harbour." (Essex Register, Feb. 8, 1817.)

6 A.M. Cloudy with a little Sprinkle of snow. P.M. Clear & pleasant cold much abated.

7 fair weather & a fine Day 125 Sleys pass the Bridge the harbor very much frozen.

8 Very pleasant day a little thawey a Ship¹⁹ arrived from India & stops in the ice below the hayst²⁰ light air from the southward.

9 at 9 A.M. the wind Springs up at E.N.E. begins to snow. P.M. wind hale in N. Snows thick soon cleared.

10 A.M. Clears of pleasant light Southwardly air. P.M. Clouds up & at 9 wind comes in with snow squalls. Blustering night.

11 Clear & cold wind quick W.N.W. Ship *Union*²¹ Hitchens arrived at Gloucester.

12 This morning snowing very fast Light wind N.N.W. P.M. clouds break away & the sun lets clear.

13 Pleasant cold morning the wind springs up S.S.W. very uncomfortable snow flying badly.

14 Extremely cold high wind N.W. by N. Clear sun Snow blowing at a stifling rate.

15 Clear weather & very cold light wind W.N.W. Last night is said to be the coldest²² ever known in America our harbour all solid.

19 Ship HERCULES, 290 tons, of Salem, James King, Jr., master, 108 days from Batavia with a cargo of sugar and coffee for Nathaniel West.

20 The Haste, a rock in Salem bay, lying near the ship channel, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Salem neck and $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Baker's Island light. "The Haste Rock was called Johnson's Haste before 1697, to denote probably that a man named Johnson came to grief upon it." (The Salem Evening News, July 5, 1927, p. 8.)

21 "Arrived at Cape Ann yesterday, the elegant ship Union, (of 618 tons) Benjamin Hitchings master, 128 days from Calcutta, with a rich cargo, to the Hon. Wm Gray, of Boston. Capt. H. passed through town yesterday afternoon, —." (Essex Register, Feb. 12, 1817.)

22 Temperatures were recorded as follows:

Beverly, Feb. 14	5.00 P. M.	14 below 0°
	7-11 "	16 "
" 15	6.45 A. M.	17 "
	9.00 "	12 "
Salem, " 14	sunset	10 "
	9-10 P. M.	14 "
" 15	sunrise	15 "
	9.00 A. M.	10 "

16 Very pleasant day but Sharp Cold people traveling too & from Salem on the ice above the Bridge & below it Light air from N.N.W.

17 the cold much abated tho very cold yet Cloudy with light wind southwardly today the people pass over on the ice with Horse & Sleys.²³ 1 P.M. begins to snow & continues the day out. Wind S.S.W.

18 this morning we find the sky clouded with a light wind about N.N.E. the wind quickens and comes a snow storm & brisk at 9 P.M. This is to me a very sad & gloomy winter.

19 Cloudy & a little thawey light wind N people sawing ice to make a passage to the wharf.²⁴

20 a fine pleasant day many Sleys & foot people pass on the ice the Brig *Cuba*²⁵ sailed Light wind N.W.

21 Cloudy with the appearance of rain S.E. at 4 P.M. comes on rainy. Brig *Cuba*²⁶ goes on shore at Marblehead moderate storm.

22 pleasant day & warm the Snow thaws away rapidly. the ice not yet broken up but fast going.

23 good weather but rather bad traveling Part sun shiny & part cloudy. I have spent the day at the toll House. a dull Sabeth to my mind.

24 A.M. High wind & very thick of Snow E.N.E. N Rain & Hail P.M. wind backs in to N.W. & snows fast — Last night the Ship *Union*²⁷ of Salem went on

23 "Mr. Joseph Strout visited the Haste, an Island below Salem, upon the ice. It is one mile & a quarter below the extreme point of the Neck. This has been done before, but it is seldom that we see the ice form at such a distance." (Bentley Diary, IV.)

24 Probably refers to Whittredge and Green's wharf, Beverly, (see Jan. 29).

25 Bgtne. *Cuba*, 142 tons, built at Salem in 1815 by Enos Briggs; John Andrew, owner, Israel W. Andrew, master. Cleared from Beverly with fish for the West Indies. (See Feb. 21.)

26 Went ashore on the back of Marblehead Neck. Her cargo was removed and she was hauled off safely. On the morning of June 24 she was lost on Vauclain Reef, Martinique, but the crew was saved. (See Feb. 20.)

27 The ship *Union*, 250 tons, built at Salem in 1802. She was returning from Sumatra with a cargo of block tin and pepper valued at about \$120,000.00 when she struck on Baker's Island in a violent snow storm about 2 o'clock in the morning and was a total loss although a material part of the cargo

shore at Bakers Island & will sustain damage to hull & cargo.

25 blustering & cold day snow flying wind W. by

26 pleasant sun but rather cold the *Union* is going to pieces.

27 A.M. thick snow storm moderate wind N. P.M. wind S.E. & rainy. Jacob Woodby²⁸ arrives.

28 A.M. the clouds look like breaking away wind N.E. P.M. thickens up & at sun down begins to snow & so continues untill bed time. Thus ends the winter the Harbor broke up the 24th.

March 1st 1817 This day & month begins with a storm of snow N.N.E. and has all the appearance of a dreary winter. There is more snow now on the ground than has been at any one time before for the winter.

2 fair weather and cold the wind N.W. Light no meeting this evening on account the snow.

3 A.M. Hasey & cold nearly calm. P.M. clears off, wind springs up S.S.W. at 4 wind hals in west

4 Very pleasant day Light winds southwardly. Clouds up in the evening Sley tolls this day 148

5 warm & pleasant something thawey—the vinyard fleet²⁹ arriving.

6 moderate & hazey looks like fowl weather S wind.

7 Good weather wind in to the westward bought a bag of rye meal 3-50.

8 this forenoon fair & pleasant weather. P.M. the wind works southwardly & clouds up.

9 Last night a small flight of damp snow 3 inches deep this morning clears off pleasant—wind N.W.

was salvaged. The loss was attributed to the thick weather, an alteration in the lights made after the vessel had started on her voyage and an unfortunate mistake of the helmsman. She was owned by Stephen Phillips, George Peirce and the master, William Osgood. (See "Pepper and Pirates," James Duncan Phillips, Boston, 1949, p. 63.)

28 Probably his cousin Jacob, born Mar. 6, 1776, son of Jacob Woodberry and his wife, Hannah Larcom, an older sister of the author's.

29 There arrived from Vineyard Haven on March 5 and 6, 1 ship, 1 bark, 4 brigs and 1 sloop, delayed by the severe weather. The bark *Patriot* of Danvers had been at the Vineyard for nearly eight weeks.

10 Many weathers today viz sun shine snow hail rain fogg & lightning.

11 A.M. Thick cloudy weather & wind blowing at N.E. P.M. moderates & glims up in the W.N.N. The Schooner *Streng*³⁰ Larky of Newburyport coming in.

March 12th, 1817. This day begins with a light North wind & goes out & round to South thaws but very little in the sun. Carting is very bad on account of deep banks of snow & sleding bad on account of bare ground.

13 Dull cloudy & cold light wind from N to E.N.E.

14 Cold & Cloudy threatens a storm wind N.E. 39 years this day my father³¹ died in Guadaloope 19 years this day the wife³² of my youth expired 2 months this day my only & very dear son³³ breathed his last breath. This above all other afflictions that I have been called to suffer is the most painful—nothing can make a substitute—nothing can fill the vacent seat. his voice is no more to be heard that but a little while since was musick to my ears. his place and his paths are silent. the shade of death has spread over my life. my dearest object sleeps in dust.

15 Clear weather and a cold north wind. The Schooner *President*³⁴ hald down below the bar.

16 Fair weather or mostly sun shine. wind N.E. P.M. the wind goes out & round to S.

17 Pleasent morning. The wind Spring at S.S.E. very chily—the *President*³⁵ sailed.

30 Sch. Strong, 81 tons, of Newburyport, Larkin, master. In coastwise trade.

31 Jonathan, son of David and Lucy (Downing) Larcom, born Apr. 30, 1741; died at sea, 1777-8; married Abigail Ober, May 12, 1763. He was a sea captain, served in the campaign against Canada in 1759, and was a soldier and a sailor in the Revolution.

32 Jonathan, Jr., born Sept. 15, 1768; married 1st, Mary Chamberlain, Oct. 3, 1790, she died Mar. 14, 1798; 2nd, Anna Ober, Dec. 25, 1798. He was an Ensign in the Militia in 1790, and was the author of this diary.

33 Jonathan, 3rd, born Sept. 28, 1805; died Mar. 14, 1817.

34 Sch. *President*, 45 tons, of Beverly, Zebulon Woodberry, master. In coastwise trade. (See Mar. 17 and June 18.)

35 See Mar. 15 and June 18.

18 A cold Southeast Rain Storm.

March 19, 1817. Som flying clouds high wind N.W. Amos Leefavor³⁶ saild for a fishing voyage. quite cold.

20 Cloudy & very cold Strong wind N. W.

21 the weather remains about the same as yesterday.

22 Now comes on Springlike weather Sun shiny and thawey some cloudy in the afternoon N.W.

23 this is a delightful morning for those whose circumstances are suitable to enjoy it but while the Spring bird is singing a gloom hangs over my head that distroys my hapyness my dearest earthly object sleeps in dust O that I may be prepared to follow.

24 Dull & foggy but little rain the wind from S.E. round to N—the Brig *Alice*³⁷ arrived with the loss of Capt. Pickett & Jonathan Dodge the boy also arrived the the Schr *Betsey*³⁸ F. Woodbury. Lost the boy Coury

25 Calm Cloudy & warm P.M. wind out

26 Thick weather with fog Comes on rainy E.N.E. P.M. wind backs in grows colder little snow.

27 Strong wind W.N.W. & quite cold the Spring advances but very slowly Large bodies of snow.

28 fair weather wind westerly—the *Wenham*³⁹ arrived with wood.

March 29—1817. Cloudy morning but clears off pleasent rather cold for so late in March N.W.

30 Good weather but rather cool—wind westerly

31 moderate & cloudy appearances of a N.E. storm Evening clears off.

36 Master and part owner of sch. *Abigail*, 75 tons, of Beverly. (See May 27 and Dec. 14.)

37 Brig *Alice*, 163 tons, of Beverly, Stephen Woodberry, mate, from St. Pierre with molasses to Pyam Lovett and Capt. Kilham. Capt. Thomas Pickett, her master, son of Thomas and Meriam Pickett, born Dec. 10, 1775; died of fever at St. Pierre, Martinique, Jan. 4, 1817; married 1st, Annis Preston, Nov. 27, 1803, she died Jan. 17, 1811; 2nd, Mrs. Sally (Lamson) Baker, Nov. 3, 1814. She was a sister of Nancy Lamson, wife of Robert Haskell, Jr., (see Jan. 15). Jonathan Dodge died of fever at Martinique, Jan. 1817, aged 15 years.

38 Sch. *Betsey*, 82 tons, Beverly, Freeborn Woodberry, master, from the West Indies.

39 See Feb. 1 and 4, and Nov. 24.

April 1. Fine Spring like weather Changable winds Samuel Ives⁴⁰ returns to Beverly after making two India voyages being gone about 2 years.

2 this is spring like weather the wind from N. to S.E. the very high price of bread & the scarcity of business make the times very hard for many people.

3 State Fast fine weather wind from S.W. to N.W.

4 fair weather wind from N.E. to S.E. The *Morgan*⁴¹ arrives.

5 Cloudy & Chily wind from N.E. to S.E. Several coasting vessels arrive very likely for Rain

6 Cloudy & chilly cold quick brease S.E. by S.

7 Wet & rainy South East wind

8 Dull cloudy weather out wind

9 thick cloudy weather wind S.S.W. the coasters sail a salmond sold in Salem for 10 dollars.

10 this morning butifull a fine drying day quick wind from W. to S.W.

April 11. Fair weather the quick at N.W. Doctor Oliver's House⁴² took fire in Salem but was hapily extinguished. also a barn in the North fields was burnt at 10 P.M.

12 Cold morning quick wind N.N.W. P.M. the wind out at S.S.E.

14 [13] this morning the clouds are passing off the wind comes in to W.N.W. blows quick

40 Capt. Samuel, son of Capt. Benjamin and Elizabeth (Giles) Ives, born Aug. 24, 1787; married by Rev. Mr. Abbot Apr. 20, 1817, Mary, daughter of John and Elizabeth Dyson. Later lived in Pepperell, Mass., and Mobile, Ala., where he was still living in 1862. He was a seaman on sch. *Elizabeth* to Marseilles in 1804. (See Dec. 21, 1816 and May 9, 1817.)

41 There is no record of a vessel named *Morgan* arriving at this port. Probably refers to the arrival on this date of sch. *Adventure*, 78 tons, of Beverly, Zachariah Morgan, master, from Guadeloupe, W. I. (See Dec. 25.)

42 The house of Dr. B. Lynde Oliver was built by Maj. William Browne for his daughter who married Judge Benjamin Lynde and whose granddaughter married Hon. Andrew Oliver, Jr. father of Dr. Oliver. It stood at the corner of Essex and Liberty streets, the site of the present Lynde block, and was taken down in 1835.

An unoccupied barn of hay, about one mile from town, belonging to Col. John Hathorne who lived at the Neck. Both fires were supposed to be incendiary.

14 pleasant morning clouds & wind rise with the sun
Wm. Pousland⁴³ saild strong wind N.W. by W.

15 Changable winds & cool weather Evening cloudy S.

16 thick morning Small shower clears off wind
S.E.

17 warm pleasant morning the Spring up to the N &
W blows up a quick breese.

18 fair weather but very cold & windy N.W.

19 fair weather & very cold Changable winds

20 moderate cool morning clear Sun wind springs
up S.S.E.

21 Very cold blustering weather wind N.N.W. Last
evening Samuel Ives⁴⁴ & Mary Dyson were maryed also
Benj. Elliott⁴⁵ to Susan Smith.

22 Cold & dry weather wind from N.W. to W.

23 the weather remains dry & cold Clear sun the
wind from N.W. out S.E.

April 24. Cloudy morning wind S.E. & quick at 10
comes on rainy quite a storm to N.E.

25 at 2 this morning a flite of snow the wind backens
in & remains cloudy all day. N.

26 thick weather & rainy wind from S.S.E. to S.S.W.

27 rather more pleasant & warmer wind W.N.W.

28 Cloudy night but clears off pleasant in the morning
the Spring is backward & cold W.N.W. at 12 squally
clouds & quick wind W.S.W.

29 Cold cloudy morning fresh breese N.N.E. P.M.
clears off pleasant planted potatoes & beans.

30 this day finishes one month more of our lives a
few more roling years at most will waft us beyond the
reach of time happy for those who are saveingly prepared
to meet that very solem hour of death this is truly a
fine day for those who have harts to enjoy it — Light
winds W.S.W.

May 1st. this month begins with the smiling beauties
of Spring the sun is clear shining the birds are singing.

⁴³ Master of sch. *Favorite*, 87 tons, of Beverly; licensed
for fishing. (See July 22 and Nov. 17.)

⁴⁴ See Apr. 1.

⁴⁵ Benjamin Elliot and Miss Susannah Smith married on
April 20.

May 2nd, 1817. Warm pleasant day Light air southerly.

3 the weather continues very pleasant & warm Green Eaton⁴⁶ returns home much burnt by lightning codfish caught at the Bridge this day.

4 Very pleasant weather Light Easterly wind. At 10 A.M. wind springs up cold at N.E.

5 thick foggy morning Light air S.E. as the sun comes up the fog goes off wind in to S.W.

6 the weather today is nearly the same as yesterday. Last evening Mr. J. Chipman⁴⁷ died very suddenly in his 80 year.

7 fine weather with a fresh southerly wind.

8 Cloudy with a fresh southerly wind at 6 P.M. comes on a fine soaking rain.

9 morning cloudy wind N. Soon clears off Setting out apple trees for Benj. Larcom⁴⁸

10 Colder & partly cloudy wind N.E. many coasters pass to the west ward.

11 morning cloudy middle clear & hot Evening showery & lightning. the wife⁴⁹ of Josiah Gould, Jr. buried.

May 12—1817 this morning cloudy & cool wind N. at 10 clears of butifull & pleasant

13 Cold frosty weather the ground quite froze

14 fair weather but quite a cold wind frosty morn

15 the weather remains about the same

46 William Green Eaton, master of sch. *Syren* of Boston, arrived there Mar. 27 from Havanna. He was son of Joseph and Hannah (Green) Eaton, baptised July 26, 1789; died Jan. 12, 1820, at Port au Prince while still master of *Syren*; married May 16, 1816, Emma Elliott of Beverly.

47 Son of Rev. John and Mrs. Rebekah (Hale) Chipman; born Oct. 26, 1738; married 1st, Elizabeth Obear, Jan. 2, 1803; she died Dec. 1, 1806; 2nd, Elisabeth Fowler, Feb. 7, 1809, she died Aug. 29, 1852. He was a blockmaker in Salem for many years.

48 Son of Jonathan and Abigail (Ober) Larcom, born Aug. 20, 1776; married, Jan. 10, 1804, Charlotte, sister of Capt. Samuel Ives, (see Apr. 1) and Mrs. Mary Adams, (see Dec. 21, 1816). He was the father of the poetess, Lucy Larcom, 1824-1893.

49 Eunice Norris, wife of Josiah Gould, Jr., died May 8, 1817, aged 19 years.

16 pleasant morning but very frosty the wind springs up at S.E. James Haskell⁵⁰ arrives

17 Cloudy weather afternoon misty wind E.N.E.

18 dull thin fogg small showers last night tight wind out

19 good weather but rather cold showers last night N.N.W.

20 Good weather the wind works round southwardly Wm. Spencer⁵¹ caught 12 lobsters

24 Very fine warm weather for 4 days but rather dry for grass variable wind

25 warm day small showers in the night Var

26 warm & windy with flying clouds westerly

27 Cloudy morning comes on rainy wind out Amos Leefaver⁵² arrives with 13,000 fish—stidy rain

28 Cool morning quick wind at N.E. Evening wind round to south & clear wether.

May 29—1817. Cloudy weather & out winds rainy night the wife⁵³ of Stephen Homan died yesterday.

30 the rain is over but the weather is cloudy & cool P.M. clears off pleasant wind working in

31 this morning calm & warm the Spring up S.E. blows up rain & warm P.M. the wind comes in & clears off cool. Looks squally.

June 1st. this morning clear & cold the wind W.N.W. a traveler from Gloucester informs that the ruts are full of ice. P.M. the wind dies and the weather becomes very fine

2 moderate weather part sun shine & part cloudy Went out a fishing came in with a fair wind

50 James, son of William and Elizabeth Haskell, born July 3, 1782; died Dec. 27, 1843; married, Jan. 18, 1805, Rebecca Ober. He was master of sch. *William*, 82 tons, of Beverly, a vessel captured in the War of 1812, arriving from Fort Royal, W. I. (See Dec. 11.)

51 Probably William, son of William and Elenor Spencer, born Aug. 27, 1766; married 1st, Mrs. Mary Sargent, May 3, 1787, she died Nov. 25, 1793; 2nd, Mary Gale Homan, Nov. 3, 1795.

52 See Mar. 19 and Dec. 14.

53 Nancy, daughter of Hezekiah and Lydia (Chapman) Wallis, born Dec. 9, 1793; died May 28, 1817; marriage int. to Stephen Homan, July 26, 1812; he was baptised Dec. 27, 1789.

3 Cool moderate weather light out winds

4 Out wind & a fine rain indeed which was much wanted.

5 dull warm day at 6 P.M. the wind springs up at S.W. the Sch. *Ann*⁵⁴ of Danvers sailed & others that were working out start off

7 Very warm morning several showers and squally clouds Sam Gooridge⁵⁵ & Mark Woodby⁵⁶ sailed fine weather westerly wind

8 Calm & pleasant morning the (wind ?) goes out to South East a fine day the old *Sukey*⁵⁷ sailed.

June 9th, 1817. moderate cloudy morning the wind springs up S.E. by S. comes on a fine moderate rain.

10 this morning thick weather the (wind ?) comes in to S.W. blows quick & warm fine growing weather

11 at sun rise a very thick cloud in the west a shower of rain with strong wind at N.W. & soon passes over windy day & cool

12 Clear sun but rather cool the N.W. wind continues but not so strong as yesterday

13 fair weather moderate. Hay dull in Salem. Down to 18 dollars

14 appearances of foul weather P.M. a little wet moderate out winds bought $\frac{1}{4}$ quintle Fish N.W.N.

15 at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10 last evening the rain began to fall & this fore noon falls plentifully wind N.E.

16 fair cold day for June high wind from N.N.W. to W.N.W. the earth is plentifully wet heat is wanted

17 this morning is so cold that the Bridge has white frost on it, but a fine clear sun coming up that will soon alter the air.

54 Sch. *Ann*, 128 tons, of Danvers, built at Danvers, 1817, William R. Russell, master, cleared for the West Indies.

55 Samuel Goodridge, 2nd, master of sch. *Nancy Thorndike*, 38 tons, of Beverly, built at Ipswich by Michael Burnham, 1817; enrolled and licensed for fishing.

56 Mark Woodberry, master of sch. *Lady Washington*, 43 tons, of Beverly; enrolled and licensed for fishing.

57 Sch. *Sukey*, 65 tons, of Salem, Robert Seldon, Jr., owner and master, built at Taunton, Mass., 1786; licensed for coast-wise trade.

18 fair weather with a strong S.W. wind the Schr. *President*⁵⁸ arrives.

19 warm & cloudy small showers wind W.S.W.
June 20th, 1817. A.M. fair warm weather P.M. cloudy
Strong breeze southwardly Evening showers

21 very warm this morning Clouds up & comes on
showery in the afternoon warm wind S.S.W.

22 moderate & warm fine growing weather Corn &
other things that are growing have nearly doubled in size
in the four last days

23 this morning comes on very rainy. it seems that
the farmers won't complain for the want of rain. if this
season should satisfy them it will be the first since my
remembrance.

24 Fine growing weather Received

25 pleasant weather but not so warm P.M. wind out

26 A.M. dull warm & hazey P.M. clouds up & Even-
ing comes a soaking rain East wind

27 Cloudy & sunshine the ground is very wet

28 Very pleasant weather not very warm light winds

29 dull foggy morning P.M. Looks stormy in E.

30 Last night & this morning very rainy P.M. the
wind chops in to N.W. rather cold

July 1st. Pleasant morning the clouds & wind rise &
become squally wind W.S.W.

2 pleasant morning rather a cool wind at N.N.W.
P.M. wind W.N.W. & dies away calm warm night

3 Warm & moderate the air smoaky Nothing re-
markable except the *President*⁵⁹ of the U.S. arriveing at
Boston this day

4 fine warm growing weather nothing in Beverly
done to celebrate the day & nothing need be

5 Calm morning & a fine warm day high wind S.S.E.
The people seem cheerfully to their callings but as for
me I have a load of sorrow hanging to my hart which
nothing of time & sense can remove O that I had grace
& faith — — a shower in the afternoon thunder

58 See Mar. 15 and 17.

59 President James Monroe. "We heard the roar of cannon
at Boston while the President was with them." (Bentley Diary,
IV.)

6 Foggy morning Clears off hot very growing weather Light winds from the South

7 This morning begins to rain at 1½ past 3. Clears off before noon with a warm S.W. wind

8 dull weather a grate bussel with the people passing to Salem to see the President⁶⁰

9 very good seasonable weather preparation are making on the Bridge for the President to pass to Beverly — wind N.N.W.

10 pleasent morning — the President⁶¹ passes to Beverly quick step under a salute from a cutter in the stream & the 18th on Beverly side to take brakefast with Mr. Thorndike.⁶²

11 fair weather & warm light wind. Sleepy time with us this day.

12 This forenoon is very warm & sutry though there is a quick breeze from S.S.W. afternoon a heavy shower of rain.

13 Dull & very warm almost calm through the day

14 Good morning Clear sun wind N. goes round with the sun. Mowed for Deacon Walls⁶³

15 Calm morning & warm sea breeze comes in a good sun & very fine weather.

16 Clear sun & cool S.W. wind good weather for mowing & hay making

60 A long account of the reception, celebration and decorations in Bentley Diary, IV; also "President Munroe in Salem," B. F. Browne, E. I. H. C., vol. 6, p. 76, (Apr., 1864).

61 "He was saluted from Revenue Cutter & Cannon on shore while passing the Bridge, which was superbly decorated with Flags, an Arch & such festoons as at short notice the Beverly Ladies prepared." (Bentley Diary, IV.)

62 Hon. Israel Thorndike had moved to Boston but kept his house in Beverly which he had bought from Andrew Cabot. "He came down and gave a superb entertainment to President Munroe in it & left his wife at Beverly, & she died upon this visit.—Col. Thorndike has been uncommonly successful & has rank in wealth & good sense with our first men. The whole display at Beverly was at his expense. He provided the ornaments of the bridge, the salute of the revenue cutter, and of the cannon on shore. Entertained in the best style 300 persons in his house, besides a much greater number abroad, & supported every ceremony." (Bentley Diary, IV.)

63 Deacon Eleazer, son of Deacon Caleb and Rebecca (Giles) Wallis, born Oct. 4, 1762; died Apr. 7, 1839; married, May 2, 1788, Mrs. Hannah Woodberry.

17 Calm clear hot morning the wind moves in from the S.E. the *Union*⁶⁴ sailed at 1 P.M.

21 the 3 last days very hot & good hay weather yesterday heavy showers pass North & South of us today cooler the sun partly hid by haze Wind E.

22 dull cloudy morning wind S.E. comes rainy Pousland⁶⁵ & Wales⁶⁶ arrive from G. Bank

23 Pleasant morning small wind W.N.W.

27 Thursday, Friday & Saturday fair sun shine as also is this day the weather becoming dry

28 the weather remains dry & moderate

29 Calm morning & very hot day clear sun

30 warm S.W. wind Cloudy P.M. a shower

31 A.M. very hot & calm P.M. thick fogg Wind E.S.E.

August 1st—1817. Moderate weather out winds most most part of the day very thick fogg

2 pleasant weather cool southerly wind the Steam boat⁶⁷ takes out a party on pleasure from Beverly

3 Warm sultry weather Partly cloudy S.S.W. wind at 10 at night comes on a gentle rain very refreshing to the Earth though it does not thoroughly soak it.

4 Very warm sultry morning partly cloudy & foggy the wife⁶⁸ of Mr. Israel Thorndike departed this life at his house in Beverly—pleasant afternoon wind out & light

5 morning appearances of rain soon clears off W.N.W. dry & cool fine fish weather Mrs. Thorndike buried

64 Sch. *Union*, 85 tons, of Beverly, Freeborn Woodberry, master, cleared for the West Indies. (See Oct. 20.)

65 William Pousland of Sch. *Favorite*. (See Apr. 14 and Nov. 17.)

66 John Wales, master of sch. *Swan*, 70 tons, of Beverly, from Grand Bank, Newfoundland. (See Dec. 8.)

67 The *Massachusetts*, the first steamboat ever seen in this vicinity, made her initial trip on July 4. "The steamboat 'Massachusetts' and the beginnings of steam navigation in Boston bay," Francis B. C. Bradlee, E. I. H. C., vol. 50, p. 193 (July, 1914).

68 Anna, daughter of Capt. George Dodge of Salem and wife of Hon. Israel Thorndike, bapt. June 30, 1765 and married at Salem Oct. 31, 1784.

- 6 Hot morning cool middle pleasant afternoon
7 Good weather for out door business Clouds up
S.S.W.
8 Showery morning & very showery day strong
W.S.W.
9 A wet time several showers southerly wind
10 morning cloudy clears off warm & pleasant wind
S.W.
11 Cloudy morning the sun shines out then clouds
up & comes on rainy moderate wind N.E.
12 morning thick & rainy cold rain storm wind
N.E.
13 wet morning but good fish weather fishermen sail
August 14 — 1817. Part sun shine dull & warm. grow-
ing weather but poor for fish Light E wind
15 Showery morning brakes away very hot day a
smart shower in the Evening
16 Very pleasant good weather Light E.S.E. wind.
17 warm sultry weather partly cloudy
18 fair weather with a good westerly breeze very
warm & drying — Foster⁶⁹ on the road
19 the weather grows cooler the wind out something
cloudy appearances of fowl weather the season is very
good corn looks well all other grain is safely housed &
a large crop. all this cannot restore my loss nor remove
the sorrow from my aching heart
20 Moderate dull weather After noon rainy out
winds
21 Lowery dull weather quite warm wind N.E. &
S.E. & S.W.
22 fair weather & a fine day for fish W.N.W.
23 fair & good fish weather very hot night
24 the weather changes to cold & wet winds N.N.W.
25 Clear & cool a fine sun soon warms the air W.N.W.
26 Chilly morning the wind dies & grows hot
27 Cool pleasant weather the wind travels with the
sun

69 Probably Joseph Foster, Jr. who married, Jan. 30, 1794,
Lucy Larcom, cousin of the author of this diary.

28 to 30. partly cloudy with northly winds warm and cool spells according to the shine and shade. The *President*⁷⁰ saild.

31 Rainy morning a glim in the N.W. remains cloudy & dull all day wind N.N.E. Mrs. Foster⁷¹ sick

Sept. 1st. the weather remains cool & dull N.E. No sunshine no rain hot weather is wanted.

2 dull morning the clouds burn off becomes hot and calm P.M. a light southwardly wind & clear weather

3 Fair weather warm & pleasent light wind south a charming day for Indian corn to fill

4 Very warm Day good breeze S.W.

5 Clear hot sun light wind W.S.W. very hot day & night Light showers in the night.

6 this morning cloudy the wind N.E. goes round to the southward cooler

7 fine pleasent weather cooler Wind from N. to E.S.E.

8 Nothing remarkable this day partly cloudy southwardly winds.

9 part cloudy & part sunshine southwardly wind

10 Very warm day clear sun & quick wind S.W. Excellent weather to make the indian corn the night very warm indeed.

Sept. 11-1817. Very hot morning the wind & clouds soon move up from the N.E. becomes cooler P.M. the wind E.S.E. brings in a cold fogg

12 Very hot morning Clouds up with light air S.E. P.M. a heavy shower of rain some lightning & thunder warm through the day

13 This morning we have it cloudy with cool N.E. wind

14 Cloudy & cold N.E. Wind. A Mr. Baldwin preached 2 very able sermons

⁷⁰ Cleared Aug. 29, brig *President*, 141 tons, of Beverly, Zebulon Woodberry, master, for the West Indies. This is not the same Zebulon who commanded the schooner of the same name. (See Mar. 15.)

⁷¹ Probably Lucy (Larcom) Foster, daughter of Asa Larcom and Mrs. Sarah Hurlbut of Wenham, born Apr. 1, 1766. (See Aug. 18.)

15 This day I have arived to the age of 49 many people follow the evil practice of excessive eating & drinking but as for me I have a double cause this year to weep & mourn for I have lost my dearest earthly object, my only son sleeps in the grave—& secondly what will still be worse for me is to live & to die a graceless Christless sinner Lord save or I perish for ever — Cold N.E. storm but no rain

16 wet & rainy wind N.E. P.M. some broken

17 Clears away warm & pleasant westerly wind

18 Cloudy morning Comes on showery & warm wind S.W. Soon hails in & clears off pleasant

Sept. 19th Clear & butifull weather light wind N.W. The prospect for corn is good

20 Very pleasant warm weather light wind S.W.

21 Cool morning soon clouds up with wind N.E. P.M. clears off pleasant & moderate

22 the weather continues moderate Light out winds the sun clouded by short spells. as the nights lengthen the weather grows fallish

23 Southwardly wind & some rain — brakes away warm in the middle of the day 4 P.M. clouds up light breeze from the N.E.

24 Strong S.W. wind & rainy morning clears off pleasant & warm in the afternoon

25 Cool cloudy morning very light wind N.W. moderate warm day

26 This is a moderate pleasant day light S.S.E. this morning there was a small frost

27 fine clear weather this morning blows up a strong breeze at S.S.W. — something cloudy

28 A shower last clear weather brisk breeze W.N.W.

29 Grows cooler pleasant sun clouds look wild & cold W.N.W.

30 Cool cloudy weather No frost as yet to hurt a leaf the corn is in excellent order the wind W. N.W.

October 1st — 1817 This month begins with a very heavy white frost & dull hazey morning about eleven o'clock clears off warm & pleasant light W wind P.M.

the wind southwardly Capt Pell Brown⁷² of Hamilton though 81 years old last April has this day carried two loads of potatoes to Salem after assisting to dig them and returned home again

2 Very frosty morning but a warm fore Noon Calm P.M. light southly wind some cloudy finished moveing into Mrs. Haskells⁷³ house

3 Morning light air from the N.W. Cloudy & most of the day calm

4 Clear & pleasent Light wind from the S.E.

5 Cloudy morning but soon brakes away S.W. Warm pleasent weather. Earthquake⁷⁴

6 Pleasent moderate weather Light S.E. wind

7 General Training⁷⁵ in Beverly—Rainy from 2 to 8 in the morning. the troops begin to pass about 3 a.m. from Marblehead & Lynn the Bridge full till 1 P.M.—when the wind halls in to southwest & blows a gale 134 doll[ars] toll.

8 fair weather quick breeze from W.S.W. to N.W.

9 pleasent morning S.W. wind. Soon clouds up very thick wind in to N.W. 3 P.M. rains wind N.

72 Captain Pelatiah Brown, bapt. in Ipswich; May 2, 1735, was a blacksmith, town treasurer of Wenham and a soldier of the Revolution. He married twice and died Feb. 14, 1830, at the age of 94.

73 Possibly a family connection as Jonathan's brother, David, born Sept. 17, 1774, married May 27, 1802, Elizabeth Haskell.

74 "In the morning service in time of sermon we had an Earthquake. I noted it as 47 past eleven, 10 seconds in duration. The whole congregation rose from their seats." (Bentley Diary, IV.)

75 The 1st Brigade of Maj. Gen. Amos Hovey's 2nd Division of the Mass. Militia assembled at Montserrat in Beverly. The Commander in Chief, His Excellency Gov. John Brooks, was met in Lynn by the Essex Hussars, Capt. David Moore, and escorted to the field where he reviewed the troops. There were present a battalion of cavalry, consisting of the Essex Hussars and the Washington Hussars, under Capt. Moore, The Independent Cadets, under Capt. Stephen White, The Marblehead Light Infantry, under Capt. John Story, a regiment of artillery, under Col. John Russell, the Marblehead battalion of artillery, under Maj. Benj. T. Reed, and five regiments of the Line, the whole under Brig Gen. James Appleton of Gloucester. In addition to the above there were the Mechanic Light Infantry of Salem and companies of Light Infantry from Beverly, Gloucester and Lynn.

Oct. 10—1817 Good October weather the wind N.W.
Rather cold for the season nothing particular

11 the morning cold & very frosty but the sun soon
alter the weather — a pleasant day S.S.E. wind 260
dollars toll money paid to the treasurer this week I sup-
pose the most ever collected in 1 week at this place

12 Good pleasant weather

13 fair weather high wind W.N.W. Mr. Mann⁷⁶
built my cellar doors. paid him 1-50 for his days work

14 dull moderate weather cloudy & no wind

15 pleasant morning soon becomes cloudy moderate

16 Frosty morning but pleasant the clouds arise with
a cold squally appearance wind N. Westerly Brooks
ponds & springs very low dry weather

17 Very frosty morning clouds up & looks like foul
weather—brakes away cold wind W

18 Cloudy morning a few specks of snow W. Clears
away pleasant Mrs. Lannison⁷⁷ buried W.N.W.

19 Last night quite cold this morning moderate &
clear wind springs up at S.W.—dry weather

20 fair weather strong west wind Matinly⁷⁸ & Wood-
berry⁷⁹ arrive with the loss of 2 men each

21 fine pleasant day John Remons⁸⁰ buried

22 Oct. 1817 fair dry weather high wind S.W. the
Schr *Sally*⁸¹ goes up to Denvers & *Sukey*⁸² comes down.

23 dull foggy morning brakes away warm

76 Perez, son of Benjamin and Abigail Mann, housewright.
Born Nov. 7, 1769; m. Abigail Johnson of Beverly, Oct. 5, 1790;
d. Aug. 20, 1848.

77 Judith, daughter of Gabriel and Elizabeth (Reeves)
Holman of Salem, born Mar. 21, 1752; married, May 29, 1774,
Francis Lamson, who died May 12, 1831, aged 81 years.

78 Samuel Mattenly, master of sloop *Packet*, 34 tons, of
Beverly, arrived from Wilmington, N. C., John Remons, the
mate, and one man dead.

79 Freeborn Woodberry, master of sch. *Union*, arrived from
Guadaloupe, W. I., with molasses. (See July 17.)

80 John, son of Robert and Elleanor (Dike) Remmons; b.
Nov. 23, 1787; m. Mehitable Fisk, June 26, 1817. (See Oct. 20.)

81 Sch. *Sally*, 115 tons, of Danvers, William Allen, master,
in the West Indies trade. She was registered to Nathaniel
Putnam of Putnam and Cheever and later Nathaniel Putnam
and Thomas Cheever retained an interest in her as late as 1840.

82 Sch. *Sukey*, 84 tons, of Danvers, William Francis, master;
built at Ipswich, 1796; licensed for coastwise trade.

- 24 Dull with some fogg Light out winds
- 25 this morning the wind starts up at N.E. fogg & rain looks like a storm aproaching
- 26 Wet & stormy thick weather the wind about E.N.E. but not heavey nor the rain plentiful
- 27 moderate thick & foggy Some considerable rain last night very light S.E. wind wild geese Brant & other fowl flying
- 28 & 29 — fair weather cold N.W. to N. wind
- 30 Very cold frosty morning moderate vaper thickens up like foul weather wind works out
- 31 the weather the same as yesterday
- Nov. 1. thick weather & rainy wind about N.E.
- 2 the storm continues with more wind & rain this is the most severe storm we have had for many months the wind about N.E.
- 3 the storm is over & gone but the weather remains cloudy this morning the ground covered with snow light wind Northly
- 4 Cloudy & chilly weather quite moderate the Evening clear & pleasent light W.N.W.
- Nov. 5th—this is a very fine pleasent day the Harbor very full of Herrings Light air S.E.
- 6 Very frosty but very pleasent morning Soon clouds up with S.S.W. wind I caught 4 cod fish—the first for this year on the Bridge
- 7 after some showers in the night past the weather clears off very pleasent & warm S.W. wind P.M. calm & cloudy quite warm.
- 8 this is a calm & delightful morning at M a light air comes in from the Eastward
- 9 warm & moderate weather Light wind S.W.
- 10 Cloudy & warm wind S.W. these 4 days are more like May than November
- 11 Thick weather warm & foggy the boats arrive well fished with pollock
- 12 the weather remains thick & very foggy S.S.E. we hear that Sam Lamson⁸³ was badly hurt last evening
- 83 Samuel Lamson, married Dec. 11, 1806, Sally Emery of Wenham. He had recently been master of sloop *Juno*, 71 tons, of Beverly.

by falling from a plank between a vessel & the wharf
Saturday noon

13 the weather has cleared off very pleasant after a short squall last night wind W.N.W.

14 this day is also very pleasant & moderate

15 Southwardly wind & rain the boats well fished with pollock Evening foggy & dull

Nov 16 1817 Clear good weather quick wind W.N.W. we hear that Capt. Tibets Sloop⁸⁴ sunk going to Boston

17 dull & cloudy again the wind breezes up Eastward & comes on a rain storm Wm Pousland⁸⁵ arrivd G.B.

18 Stormy with a considerable rain N.E.

19 the storm is over & gone clear weather wind W.N.W. Capt. Tibets Sloop⁸⁶ is safe in Boston good fish

20 fine weather for handling fish Cool W B S

21 fair weather coolish P.M. some cloudy wind W three ships⁸⁷ sail from Salem for India

22 this day begins with cloudy weather & snow the wind befitting very moderate storm N

23 pleasant day rather cool the clouds look squally & cold. very cold night follows W.N.W.

24 mostly sun shine but very pinching cold quick wind N.W. by N. Tinker⁸⁸ & Branscom⁸⁹ unloading

25 a fine pleasant day the wind southwesterly Mr Richard Crowninshield⁹⁰ lost his wool factory by fire said

84 Sloop *Polly*, 73 tons, of Salem, Henry Tibbetts, master and owner; enrolled and licensed for coastwise trade. (See Nov. 19.)

85 Master of sch. *Favorite*. (See Apr. 14 and July 22.)

86 See Nov. 16.

87 Ship *Erin*, 270 tons, of Salem, Nathan Cook, master; ship *Endeavour*, 234 tons, of Salem, Benjamin Shillaber, master; brig *Elizabeth*, 171 tons, of Marblehead, Charles Treadwell, master.

88 James Tinker, master of sch. *Betsey*, 114 tons; licensed for coastwise trade.

89 Charles Branscom, master of sch. *Wenham*. (See Feb. 1, 4; Mar. 28.)

90 "This morning we were alarmed by the cry of fire. It was at the Factory just built at Danvers by R. Crowninshield for the manufacture of wool at a very extraordinary expense. He had formed a water course, provided a powerful wheel, collected the best Jennies & machines for fulling, rolling & shearing & had just put his works in motion. He was absent

to be worth \$50,000 W & Green⁹¹ Dr to 1 days work board wood

26 fair weather Mr. John Smith⁹² reinstated at Wenham—cool pleasant day N.W.

Nov. 27th fair & pleasant weather wind W.S.W. Last night at 9 o'clock Capt. George Crowninshield⁹³ died very suddenly on board his Brig—a very fine gentleman man is but vanity & dust in all his form and prime—be ye also ready says this to me

28 fine moderate weather soon comes up cloudy with a light southerly wind the fishermen coming from G B Light fares

29 a remarkable fine day Light southerly wind

30 thick & rainy morning Light wind N.N.E. P.M. the clouds break away pleasant

Dec. 1st pleasant sun but quick wind N.W. by W. Grows colder Evening wind all gone

2 Cloudy morning Light wind comes in S.E. P.M. picks on to a sharp S.E. storm

3 at Day Light clearing off wind in to W.S.W. comes on thick snow squalls the clouds look cold P.M. more pleasant but quite windy

4 this thanksgiving day good pleasant weather for the season—the people are passing & repassing the Bridge

at the time of the fire. Nothing was saved. The wool in the factory had been collecting for many months & was sufficient for the full employment of the works for a long time. As fire was used in the building—and not a circumstance leads suspicion, this great loss must be attributed to unknown accident. A workman going with the key in the morning discovered the fire. (Bentley Diary, IV).

91 Probably work on wharf. (See Jan. 29.)

92 Rev. John Smith, ninth pastor of the Orthodox Congregational Church at Wenham, formed Oct. 8, 1644, was born at Belchertown, Mass., Mar. 5, 1766, graduated from Dartmouth College in 1794, and died at Bangor, Maine, Apr. 7, 1831. Ordained at Salem, N. H., Jan. 1797; resigned Nov. 21, 1816; installed at Wenham Nov. 26, 1817 and dismissed at own request Sept. 8, 1819. (See Jan. 29.)

93 George Crowninshield, b. Salem, May 28, 1766, died unm. Nov. 26, 1817. He expired on the same evening and at the same hour as Mr. Samuel Curwen Ward who made the voyage on *Cleopatra's Barge* with him. He was also the brother of Captain Richard C. who lost his factory in Danvers on the preceding day.

visiting theyr friends surrounding the tables of plenty but as for me I am doomed to spend the remaining part of my life in grief & sorrow O the dying groans of my dear son

5 fair weather with a fine sun grows cold quite a freezing night follows W.N.W. Mr. Richard Ober⁹⁴ buried

6 thick weather or rather cloudy Looks likely for snow. P.M. brakes away pleasant N.W.

7 Cloudy morning but pleasant afternoon Light North wind Joseph Lovett⁹⁵ arrived from G B Mr. Emerson preached a very able sermon from Luke 8th — 18th — O that I could profit by it

8 Very frosty morning but the rising sun makes it vanish pleasant day but quite chilly John Wales⁹⁶ arrived from G Bank

9 A very pleasant day Light wind N.W. Nathl Black⁹⁷ arrived from G Bank 10-000 fish

10 Smokey thick weather a little wet N.N.W.

11 Thick & stormy Snowing most part of the day James Haskell⁹⁸ arrived from G Bank Wind N.E.

12 The weather continues stormy rain & fogg wind blowing quick from N.E. to E.N.E.

13 Cold cloudy the Bridge & ground very slippery N.E.

14 thick wet weather a.m. the wind claps out S.E. Rainy day Evening calm & foggy Lefaver⁹⁹ arrives

15 moderate but quite rainy Southly wind part of last night the wind blew high

94 Richard, son of Peter and Lidia (Foster) Ober, born Aug. 11, 1741; died Dec. 4, 1817. He was a brother of Mrs. Isaac Chapman, (see Dec. 27).

95 Joseph Lovett, 3rd, master of sch. *Rebecca*, 74 tons, of Beverly. He married, Feb. 8, 1792, Lydia Bowles.

96 See July 22.

97 Master of sch. *Rapid*, 82 tons, of Beverly. On Aug. 26 he had arrived "from the Bay" of Chaleur, Newfoundland, with 54,000 fish. He was born Jan. 15, 1765; died Mar. 5, 1827; married May 19, 1786, Mrs. Anna Woodberry who died Apr. 26, 1842, aged 80 years.

98 Master of sch. *William*. (See May 16.)

99 Amos Lefavour, master of sch. *Abigail*. (See Mar. 19 and May 27.)

Dec. 16 1817—Last evening the wind chopped in to the westward very squally & rainy this morning is fine weather again moderate wind to the westward today is the first sun shine since Wednesday morning Evening cloudy

17 We find cloudy weather this morning attended with spitings of snow moderate wind N.N.E.

18 This is a butiful morning. a shining white frost M moderate South wind & partly over cast Evening dull & hazey. Nothing remarkable Sets in snowing light wind from S.S.W.

19 Last night a sharp storm of wind & rain S.S.E. This morning the wind in & clearing off M a good sun & a good breeze Eve quick wind west & flying clouds

20 Morning very pleasent light wind W.S.W. P.M. some cloudy & chilly wind South Evening very pleasent fine moon shine Calm

21 About 3 this morning came on thick weather with squalls of snow & continues very cold all day. the night very windy & very cold

22 the air becoms clear a clear sun but very cold the wind continues blowing W.N.W.

23 Clear weather & pleasent day Light wind W. Evening bright moon shine & calm

24 Good pleasent weather very good for out of door work

25 Southwardly wind & rain Evening clears off pleasent pleasent night Morgan¹⁰⁰ sailed

Dec. 26—1817—Moderate weather light wind N Clouding up appearances of foul weather

27 Dull cloudy weather the wind from N to E P.M. clears away pleasent & nearly calm Mrs. Chapman¹⁰¹ buried & Mrs. Giles¹⁰² died

100 Zachariah Morgan, master of sch. *Adventure*. (See Apr. 4.)

101 Priscilla, dau. Peter and Lidia (Foster) Ober; b. July 18, 1737; m. 1st, John Preston; 2nd, Ens. Isaac Chapman; d. Dec. 25, 1817. Sister of Richard Ober, (see Dec. 5).

102 Sarah Woodbury; m. 1st, Bartholomew Smith; 2nd, Edward Giles at Danvers. ("Died Dec. 29, aged." Beverly Vital Records.)

28 Very moderate cloudy weather Light air out

29 the weather continues very moderate & cloudy
Light winds S.W.

30 the weather remains dull & heavy more appearances of falling weather Light W.E.

31 after a dark night of rain hail & snow the wind springs up N.W. but moderate & very pleasant no snow to be seen here thus the year ends—the year past has been a sorrowful & gloomy year to me

January 1st, 1818 This year begins with a pleasant day a pleasant breeze of wind about W.N.W. Several shops¹⁰³ broke open in Salem & Beverly last night & small sums of cash stolen therefrom—this day sailed the fine ship *Palladium*¹⁰⁴ H. Lavison master for Calcutta

2 this day is also very pleasant wind W.S.W. the sun shines clear & the air is so warm that we scarcely feel the want of fire

January 3rd 1818 This morning is lowery & dull Light southwardly wind small Pollock plenty at W & Greens Wharf at 4 P.M. comes on rainy

4 Soon after 12 this morning the wind blows up about N.W. & clears off blows a gale all day

5 Over cast & chilly P.M. some spits of snow Light S wind

6 Cloudy morning & spits of snow soon clears a small breeze from S.W. & very pleasant

7 after a cloudy night & south wind we find a clear morning wind in to W.N.W. & blows up a common gale but not very cold—

103 On Dec. 31, shops in Salem, Asa Lamson, Jr., Winter St., James W. Stearns, Boston St., Tufts & Chamberlain, near the market, J. & T. F. Odell, North St., also two in Beverly and one in Danvers.

104 Ship *Palladium*, 341 tons, built at Salem by Enos Briggs in 1816 for an association of Salem men to be used on a Liverpool and Salem packet line but the scheme was never carried out. She was sold to Boston owners in Dec., 1817 and was a whaler out of New London, Conn., 1832-1847.

Nov. 6 Timothy Standly¹⁰⁵ in the *Petrel* arrivd—25 000
 7 *Parrygon*¹⁰⁶ Sam Smith 20 000

1817 Oct. 13 Mr. Foster¹⁰⁷ on toll 1 day for me
 1818 Jan. 22 1 night for me

days on toll for Mr. Foster	1	He at work for
<u> </u> $\frac{1}{2}$ day	0-37 $\frac{1}{2}$	W & Green
Nov 7 1 do	75	M Brown
15 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ hours	25	
21 1 day	75	
29 $\frac{1}{2}$ do	37 $\frac{1}{2}$	High ways
		W & Green
Dec. 1 1 day	75	New wall
3 1 do	75	do
9 1 do	75	do
17 1 do	75	do
19 1 do	75	do
28 & 29 from g to g	75	sick
31 1 day	75	do
1818 Jany 2 1 do	75	New wall

8 50

6 1 do 75

9 25

Credit by 1 day & 1 night 1 50

7 75

Small Jobs 0 25

\$8 00

Settled &
 paid up in full

Recd of Mr. J. Larcom

thirty dollars on acct of Putnam & Chever¹⁰⁸

Beverly 29th Oct. 1818

Thos. Putnam

105 Master of sch. *Petrel*, 74 tons, of Beverly, "from Bay of Chaleur with a noble fare of fish (35,000) to Capt. W. Leach." (Salem Gazette). Capt. Stanley died June 4, 1847, aged 78 years.

106 Master of sch. *Paragon*, 82 tons, of Beverly; built at Newbury, Mass., in 1816 and sold to Gloucester owners in 1840.

107 See Aug. 18.

108 See Oct. 22, 1817.

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BOOK REVIEWS

COMMERCE AND CONQUEST IN EAST AFRICA. With particular reference to the Salem Trade with Zanzibar. By Cyrus Townsend Brady, Jr. 1950, 245 pp. octavo, cloth, illus. Printed by the Riverside Press, Cambridge. Published by The Essex Institute. Price, \$3.50.

Mr. Brady has told a graphic and absorbing story of that part of the dark continent which for generations has challenged the imaginations of Yankee captains and merchants . . . and added millions of dollars to Yankee fortunes. He traces interestingly the development of tribal life and commerce westward across the African continent, from the very beginnings of dark civilization on the eastern fringe of Somaliland, Kenya, Tanganyika, Mozambique and Zanzibar. He covers vividly the efforts that overcame all the discouraging handicaps to life among the dry, bush-covered hills infested by the deadly tsetse fly, from the establishment of the first Portuguese "factorie" and the coming of the "Edward Bonadventure" which entered Zanzibar in November, 1591, down through the years which witnessed the building up of a commerce not only with Portugal, but with France and Britain and the new Republic across the Atlantic.

Half way through his interesting account, Mr. Brady comes to Salem's entrance into the African drama, with the arrival of the brig "Ann" in Zanzibar, which opened commercial relations with that port. In August of the following year, 1827, the schooner "Spy" returned to Salem. This was the first American vessel to go back directly from the Island. Her cargo was gum copal. And about this time a Yankee merchant-diplomat signed the first commercial treaty with the native Sayyid Said. The author then unfolds the story of Zanzibar and the Yankee consuls. He shows Captain John Bertram of Salem entering the port in the "Black Warrior" in March, 1832. Eventually, Bertram quit the upper deck for the lucrative, if less romantic, position of merchant. From September, 1832 to May, 1834, forty-one vessels entered Zanzibar. Only nine were from Europe. Of the thirty-two American vessels, most were from Salem. Mr. Brady's story of the first American consul, Richard Palmer Waters and his friendship with the Sultan is amusing and informative, if sometimes open to conjecture. Recommended to all libraries.

JOHN SMIBERT, PAINTER. With a descriptive Catalogue of Portraits and Notes on the Work of Nathaniel Smibert. By Henry Wilder Foote. 1950, 292 pp. octavo, cloth, illus. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Price, \$6.00.

This long expected book on Smibert and his work is at last published and will be welcomed by all interested in eighteenth century artists. Mr. Foote for several years, has been looking into the authenticity of Smibert's portraits, especially in this country. Although he disclaims being a technical expert in painting, but only a biographer and historian, there is no one living today who is able to evaluate Smibert's work more accurately than he. The book contains more new material about Smibert and his times. It is a thorough study of all available sources and will be indispensable not only to those interested in this particular painter, but those who seek to know more of early art in this country. The descriptive catalogue will be valuable to the specialist. The illustrations are interesting and appropriate. This book is highly recommended to all libraries, the only full length biography of Smibert.

WHALING AND OLD SALEM. A Chronicle of the Sea. With an Account of the Seal Fisheries, Excerpts from Whaling Logs and Whaling Statistics. By Frances Diane Robotti. 1950, 192 pp. octavo, cloth, illus. Salem: Newcomb & Gauss Company. Price, \$3.50.

Although whaling from the port of Salem was not carried on for a very long period, Mrs. Robotti has given us the story, never before published, and in a very exhaustive history of that time. It is a fine piece of research and will be read with a great deal of interest. This romantic age of the shipping industry will appeal to many, especially since the illustrations are numerous and very timely. The book is dedicated to Col. Lawrence Waters Jenkins, Director-Emeritus of the Peabody Museum, Salem, and the introduction was contributed by Carleton D. Morse. This book is the product of the Newcomb & Gauss Company of Salem, and is a handsome example of the printer's art. Recommended to all libraries.

EARLY NEW ENGLAND POTTERS AND THEIR WARES. By Lura Woodside Watkins. 1950, 291 pp. large octavo, cloth, illus. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Price, \$10.00.

This magnificently illustrated book is the first comprehensive account of New England potters. Traditional handcraft of pottery was practiced in New England from the earliest date. It includes a wealth of new and unpublished material. The results of excavation are thoroughly described and illustrated. She gives an account of the techniques employed in the making, glazing, decorating and burning of earthenware and stoneware. There are sixty-two pages of illustrations. She covers New England and has a special chapter for the Osborne's of Danvers and other Essex County potters. Strongly recommended to all libraries as a book which will be consulted frequently.

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THE OLD PLUM ISLAND LIGHTHOUSE

Built in 1860

ESSEX INSTITUTE

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No. 2

PLUM ISLAND

By SARAH E. MULLIKEN

Perhaps the most joyous remembrance of my childhood brings back those summer mornings when the family packed the picnic basket full of corned beef sandwiches, apple turnovers and maybe, O joy! a molasses taffy apiece, ginger snaps, and a long Vienna sausage—Vienna sausages seem to have passed out of existence, chased away apparently by hot-dogs. Father, mother, big brother, big sister and I awoke early—by six at the latest. Father shook the barometer and smiled, he looked at Captain Raynes's weather vane which pointed Nor'west! All was well. We marched in a procession down Bromfield Street and climbed from the wharf on to an old ladder slippery with green slime to the row boat which rocked to and fro as the little waves thrown up by the high tide about to change, caressed it. A delicious scaredness crept over you as you took the dangerous leap to an uncertain seat. You mustn't cry out. Anyway, Father was there ready to grab you if you fell into the Merrimac,—and under no consideration would you allow Big Brother to call you a cry baby.

Anyone with a mite of common sense knows the only proper way to approach Plum Island is by row-boat. You are right in the River's arms, you can dip your fingers in the water and it caresses you, the sky is higher up than ever before, the gulls screech with the joy of living. You'd like to be a gull! How big a man Ben Butler must have been to have such an enormous toothpick that it can mark the channel! The cool wind smells delicious—may be of salt, may be of clam-shells, and the warm sun makes you

delightfully sleepy like a pussy-cat! The steamer *E. P. Shaw* comes chugging down the River, and her side-wheel makes great waves toss your little craft up and down, up and down. You don't care. You love it. Your family is with you—you're never a scare-cat.

You reach the Island and the Beach. If it's June the poverty grass belies its name and covers the back of the sand dunes with gold. Of course, may be that is, there were pirates here once upon a time—who knows but one lurks behind a sand dune, cutlass in hand, and surrounded by those fierce spears of beach grass? You take off your dress—think of that! But there's no one on the Beach—no houses. The Graves Cottage, the Simpson Cottage and the Castelhun Cottage are way off. You wade in the Basin, and sometimes, if you have been a very good girl, you may take hold of your Big Brother's hand and wade in the very ocean itself. That is dangerous for there is an undertow ready to grab you and take you off into the mouths of sharks. Mother has spread the small red checkered tablecloth out on the sand, and there is the wonderful lunch. After you have eaten you lie in the cool sand, the hot sun shines on your tummy, the Atlantic Ocean stretches out before you. On one side is the blueness of Cape Ann, before you there is nothing but water. It breaks in lazy foam like the foam on father's face when he shaves. The waves are green and blue, and inside amber. Far off they are blue and purple. There is water and water and water. It never stops until it reaches a make-believe place called Europe. The waves are never silent; they murmur, they growl, they sing. What is it all about? Were they trying to tell the-little-girl-me so long ago all the things they remembered? Whether they were or not, I'm going to tell you the things I've found out about Plum Island. I beg their pardon and yours for any errors or omissions.

According to tradition Eric, the Red, sailed past all of our Massachusetts coast, not forgetting Plum Island. The Cabots must have seen our shores—maybe they felt in their bones a Lowell was to live up our River! Champlain who was in our neighborhood as early as 1605, describes

the neighboring Indians thus: "Those savages shave off the hair far up on the head, and wear what remains very long, which they comb and twist behind in various ways very neatly, interwoven with feathers which they attach to the head. They paint their faces black and red like other savages we have seen. They are an agile people with well formed bodies.—They till and cultivate the soil, something which we have not seen hitherto." Near Cape Ann some five or six of these Indians landed from a canoe and danced on the Beach. Maybe the waves were trying to describe that dance to little-girl-me! It must have been a grand sight—the lithe graceful men, the bright sunshine falling on their feathers and red paint, the blue water in front, the yellow sand dunes behind!

Indians and Plum Island harmonize. When unsmirched by civilization they are full of bold, modern-like poetry, cruel, stark, but soul-delighting. Civilization and cottages do not become them.

Captain John Smith in his "Description of New England," published in 1616, gives this description of the island: "On the East is an Isle of two or three leagues in length; the one halfe, plain marish ground fit for pasture, with many faire high groves of mulberrie trees and gardens; and there is also Pines and other wood to make this place an excellent habitation, being a good and safe harbor." Captain Smith made an accurate map of Plum Island as it was in 1616.

There was a little grove near the Bluffs, according to all accounts. But I doubt if there were many "fair groves" even then. However that may be Plum Island was much desired by our ancestors when they came up the Parker River from Ipswich to settle at Newbury. Religious freedom was not their only goal. The Dummer, the Sewalls, the Kents all meant to make a little money by raising cattle, and they wanted plenty of land for their venture. The gravestone raised in honor of Judge Sewall's father mentions the cattle he brought with him from England.¹

Of course land was almost impossible to secure in the old country, but here it was to be different. A horrid

difficulty arose. There was land enough, but it was already held as if in a close vise. Before a man could plant crops or grass for pasturage, he must cut down a primeval forest. Have you ever had the roots dug up of a weak little pear or apple tree? Imagine clearing a farm of monsters hundreds of years old! Soon the colonists cried out—there was not land enough for their cattle. Quite a number moved to Connecticut for more pasturage.

Right at their front door, or back door, stretched nine miles of Plum Island bordered by marshland, glistening green in summer time, radiant in crimson, russet, orange and brown in fall. That meant salt hay for the cattle. At first the colonists feared salt hay might poison the precious animals brought from England with so much trouble. The story goes that they fed a poor, sickly steer with it one winter. He survived, and since then the hay stacks on the marshes have furnished food for the Newbury herds. To skip from those early days to almost our own times, one hot, sticky July day a young girl was surprised at the greeting of her Oldtown neighbor as she ran into the house on an errand. "I wish that pesky critter had died!" the neighbor exclaimed, wiping her flushed face with a corner of her apron. "What pesky creater?" stammered the girl. "Why that first steer who ate salt hay! Ever since we Oldtowners have had to get up before daylight on just such mornings as this to put up lunch for the hired men going on the marshes to cut the hay, not to speak of our husbands and sons, and they eat enough to feed an army,—not to speak of all the switchel they drink! The glass is always up in the nineties, and as soon as they are gone it's time to bake victuals for them to eat when they come home! Always up to 100° when they cut the stuff, and 10° below when they go again in the winter to fetch the hay home. All account of that pesky critter!"

Well, Newbury, Ipswich and Rowley all wanted that salt hay, and they each claimed Plum Island as their own. The General Court, calm as the sand dunes themselves, told the wrangling towns that the Island was under the control of the General Court, and of no other. A

petition from the Newbury men, headed by their minister, Thomas Parker, in 1649 asked for the whole island, "to relieve our pinching necessities, without which we see no way to continue to exist." (I'd hate to have my existence depend upon the fertility of Plum Island—good as Plum Island Plum Jelly is!) However the Court took action in October of that year, and divided the Island, two parts to belong to Newbury, two parts to Ipswich, and Rowley to have one-fifth part. The land both on the island proper and the marsh land, excepting the islands of thatch in Plum Island River, was divided amongst all the inhabitants, the gentry receiving eight acres to a lot and the poorer men four acres. The division was decided by drawing of lots, and apparently the Lord had a hand in the result! The gentry drew lots of sand dunes or salt marsh—the humble the good uplands! In Ipswich if the poor folk didn't have good luck, the Selectmen remedied the matter and gave them extra acres. The thatch, which grew on the islands, by the way, was used to roof the first houses. During the earlier days the colonists turned their poor horses, cattle and swine out on the island for the winter, and the proprietors complained "of finding themselves much damnified in that their marshes were trodden to dirt and utterly spoiled by a multitude of horses and other cattle." As late as 1845 Joshua Coffin reports that an old lady still living remembered the poor horses left by the Newbury farmers at Plum Island for the winter returning mere skeletons, their hair long and matted.

The southern portion of Plum Island was in Ipswich, and contained farm land. In 1732, John Pengry built a sturdy home which weathered the gales of two hundred years. During the War of 1812 when the house was owned and occupied by a pilot, Captain Ebenezer Sutton,² a boat load of sailors from a British man-of-war cruising about the coast landed and killed a cow. They were preparing to take the meat back to their ship, when a half-wit boy appeared. "Look out," he cried, "Captain Sutton and a passel of trainers are after you." "Shoot him," ordered the officer. But as luck would have it some men

appeared in the distance. The Britishers decided discretion was the better part of valor, left their cow, manned their boat, and that was the last of the British seen on Plum Island.

In more recent days the farmhouse became a hotel, and was burned a few years ago. In its rear was an underground dairy, and near by "The Store," once a part of one of the six old windmills built by the gallant Frenchman Gilshenon,³ whose attempt to recover salt from the sea water, was a failure, but who joked over his misfortunes. Isn't that a good memory to leave? To be a good loser? Back of the Willow Cottage, still standing, built in 1781 by "Honest Enoch" Dole, was a sun dial probably placed there by the Frenchman. The house is a good example of an old English cottage, with its "batten" back door, its enclosed staircase, and clamshell plastered south room. (This information is from a paper written for the Massachusetts Audubon Scty. by Mrs. Edith Dole.)

Emerson's Rocks, one of the sailor's danger spots, received its name from the Emerson family, who had a good sized farm on Middle Island, described in the will of Ralph Cross, who bought for a summer home, "all the upland in that part of Plum Island within the town of Ipswich called Middle Island." Mr. Cross had 23 sheep, 12 cows, 7 oxen, young stock, etc. Quite a farm!

Plum Island has never been a place in which to make a fortune—it's just out-of-doors! But there have been exceptions. The Pettingell family⁴ shrewdly bought in the old days the rights of the commoners for \$600. Their descendants sold these same holdings years later for \$100,000. The Moody Boynton suit was widely known. Mr. Boynton lost his case when he sued the heirs of Moses Pettingell in 1883 for loss of land washed from Salisbury Beach to the Pettingells' property at Plum Island, caused by the Merrimac River breaking through at Salisbury Point for a space of three-quarters of a mile and depositing the sand on Plum Island. As you will recall, the old channel of the Merrimac flowed out through what is now the Plum Island Basin, and the part of the Island from near the head of the Basin to the present

mouth of the River once was a part of Salisbury Point. If a certain letter had not been lost proving something or other, Mr. Boynton's attorney was certain the case would have been won, and Mr. Boynton would have been a rich man.

The dredgers (which one always saw in the old days anchored off the Island) took away sand, and were said to have been very profitable to the owners and maybe to the Pettingells. The Ipswich clams are so widely advertised on the signboards that they must be profitable. However, this paper is not concerned with money. I must mention Captain Kidd, for children and some grown-ups have always hoped he hid some of his loot among these sands. Not so many years ago a few old Spanish and English coins with dates of 1721-1749-1783 were found near Emerson's Rocks. To make a better story—tradition says a man skeleton with buckles on his shoes was found nearby. Who knows? Maybe you'll be the one to discover an ill-gotten bag of gold behind a sand dune some day! Although I am not talking of money in connection with Plum Island, yet one can easily imagine lying in the sand one hundred and fifty years ago or thereabouts, and seeing the white sails coming and going over the bar which brought prosperity and luxury to Newburyport. The Ship *Pomona*, Wm. Bartlet, owner, Isaac Adams, master, according to the Newburyport *Herald*, arrived from Calcutta, with the richest cargo ever to cross our bar. However, the greater number of our vessels were engaged in the Labrador fishing. After curing the fish the vessels would proceed to different parts of Europe and the West Indies. Leaving the fish in the West Indies, sugar would be exported to Holland and Russia, and molasses would be brought back to Newburyport for the eight distilleries. Those were the days when our town had more distilleries and churches than any other community in the Commonwealth.

I am straying from Plum Island proper. There are the forts, the hotel, the lighthouses, the pesthouse and the picnics, but overtopping them all are the wrecks, the tragedies of the island.

At the Newburyport end of the Island, just preceding the Revolutionary War, fearing British soldiers might land at Plum Island, piers were sunk in the channel in such a way as to endanger strangers, but not the natives. In fact a small vessel stood by, night and day, ready to pilot friends. A fort was built on Plum Island and another on the Salisbury side of the river. The harbor defenses cost over \$15,000. You may be relieved to know that the people of Newburyport allowed the soldiers stationed at this fort candles and sweetening for their beer. The soldiers must have enjoyed seeing Captain Offin Boardman⁵ go out over the Bar—if it were not too foggy for them to see—and fool the British-armed ship, loaded with supplies for the British army, into allowing itself to be piloted into Newburyport harbor, thinking it Boston, and captured. They saw the privateers go over the Bar and return with rich prizes. They saw many a vessel go out to return no more. That is another story.

The Hotel was the child of the Plum Island Turnpike & Bridge Corporation and its first landlord began his duties in 1808. In 1812 the soldiers stationed on the northerly end of the island used it as barracks. Later it was a headquarters for the sportsmen during the bird season, and it was a haven for shipwrecked mariners. Captain Nicholas Brown,⁶ a picturesque Newburyport skipper, was one of its most interesting landlords. In his day all the captains flocked there on shore leave and spun their yarns and drank their grog. Captain Brown built a shelter for shipwrecked sailors on the Beach, with some supplies which could be used in an emergency. He was at the Hotel when the *Pocahontas* was wrecked and worked with all his might in trying to rescue the crew. The year 1843 must have been a time of prosperity on the Island, for twice a day the landlord, Mr. Thompson, sent a coach to Newburyport to the railroad station for passengers. He continued this for eleven years.

If there were time there would be much to tell of the lighthouses. In 1783 the Newburyport Marine Society erected a beacon, the cost subscribed by public-spirited citizens.⁷ Then in 1786 Congress made an appropriation

for two lighthouses, facing each other, which later fell down in a great storm. Then came the permanent lighthouse with its three generations of Lowells⁸ who tended the light for forty-seven years. The first Lowell, called "Uncle" by all the world, he was so kind-hearted, was appointed by George Washington. They, like the hotel-keepers, were always ready to care for the wrecked sailors washed up on the shore. At that time the fleet sailing over our Bar consisted of six ships, 45 brigs, 39 schooners and 28 sloops. The Newburyport Orphanage was filled with fatherless children of wrecked sailors. I must pass over the Life Saving Stations at both ends of the Island, or there will be no time to quote Mrs. Vale Smith.

Half of the charm of Plum Island is its simplicity. The ocean is sometimes cruel, always marvelous, making man realize the puny thing he is. On a sunny day, what is more peaceful than the yellow sand and the dunes crowned with shining green, and the dimpling blue of the sea?

One side of Plum Island tells of wrecks. Our Bay was a fearful place for a sailing vessel in the old days. On either side are deadly reefs. The Merrimac, the ship's only refuge, is closed by a bar. The sailors' wives and sisters rushed from Newburyport to see the vessel foundering, her decks washed by great waves, the men lashed to the rigging. No help could be given. No wonder that the moaning buoy brought heart-ache to many a waiting wife in our town.

The other side shows sunshine, laughing sands, merry picnickers. Once a year on certain days a whole town would turn out, filling carryalls and wagons with jolly people and lunch baskets to revel in the sand and the gentle, rollicking waves of Plum Island.

I'll quote Mrs. Vale Smith's description of Plum Island in its two moods. The first tells of the wreck of the Brig *Pocahontas*, owned by Captain John N. Cushing, James G. Cook, master. At the Newburyport Historical Society's room you may see the Brig's bell, and you may think of it ringing wildly on that sad night in 1839 when the vessel struck the sands of Plum Island.

Mrs. Smith writes: "In Dec. 1839, occurred one of those terrible storms. On the 15th there had been a very high tide which had overflowed the wharves on the river-side, and covered the eastern end of Plum Island with water, so that for some hours the keeper could not get to the lights, a lake having formed between his dwelling house and the lighthouses. The hotel nearer the bridge was also surrounded with water while sandhills 20 feet high were washed away, and others formed, the eastern shore being reduced by the action of the waves many rods. On the 24th there was a recurrence of the storm, and during the night a brig of some 300 tons, the *Pocahontas*, struck, and was discovered early in the morning, but in such a situation that nothing could be done for the relief of the wretched men who still clung to the wreck. Those on board in whom life remained could see the excited but impotent spectators on the shore, while the latter gazed with useless sympathy upon the strugglers, in this conflict of the elements. The surf was such that no boat could live in it, and those in the brig were too distant to throw lines from shore. The bodies of several of the crew were found afterwards on the beach some distance from the brig, with the small boat lying near by, showing these had attempted thus to escape.—These probably left the brig before daylight, and perhaps before she struck. Seven bodies of the crew were recovered, besides the captain and the first mate.

"One man was seen before nine in the morning on the bowsprit, retained his critical position until twelve when a heavy sea washed him and his support away, and he was lost in full sight of the spectators. To make his case more sad, it was but a few minutes after this catastrophe when the brig was washed upon the beach, and it was readily boarded from the shore. One man was discovered lashed to the vessel with life not extinct, but so exhausted that he ceased to breathe without being able to make an intelligible sign. His clothes were almost entirely washed off of him.

"All the bodies of these poor men were taken to the Old South Church, an American flag was thrown over the

coffins, the bells tolled, and amid a concourse of 2500 people, solemn prayer was offered.—Young Captain Cook and the first officer were the only ones recognized that day. The others were borne to the old burying hill while the bells tolled solemnly.”

The Newburyport Bethel Society erected a marble tablet over their grave with this inscription: “Here lies seven of the unfortunate Crew of the Brig *Pocahontas* which was wrecked on Plumb Island Dec. 23, 1839. ‘In foreign lands their humble grave adorned, By strangers honored and by strangers mourned.’ ”

The Bethel Society still cares for this grave.

I will give a lighter quotation from Mrs. Smith’s History: “Plum Island, Newburyport and scarcely a stranger who has visited our city in the summer season, who does not retain vivid recollections of this fantastic strip of sand. To the minds of most, its associations are of the social gatherings of friends, of seaside picnics with home companions and stranger guests; the eye recalls the sandy beach dotted with tents; the cloth spread on the clean yellow sand, surrounded with groups of young men and maidens, old men and children, the complacent pastor and the grave deacon, all enjoying together a day of unrestrained mirth and healthful recreation; some indulging in the exuberance of their wild delight amid the waves that roll their white crests to the feet of the more timid watchers, and others preparing the gondola for a return home, knocking away the poles that support the tents, or packing up the fragments of the feast preparatory to stowing them in the carriage, wagon or boat that is waiting to carry the party home, just as the sun is sinking behind the western hills.”

There is so much you might say about Plum Island. There are the sand dunes which originated principally by clamshells left by the Indians who came from long distances up in New Hampshire and Maine. Among these dunes Mr. Ordway, of West Newbury, found many Indian relics, bits of pottery and arrow heads, and a skeleton. Other heaps, which occasionally turned into dunes, were left by parties of fishermen who went to the Grand Banks

one hundred years ago and more. After their summer voyages, they camped on the Island for a week or so, pitched their tents near a good place for clams on the southern part of the Island, shucked the clams and salted them for next season's bait, and left the shells to become the base for another dune.

There are the oases between the dunes where surprising trees flourish, and occasionally a deer visits. There is the heronry which the herons know very well indeed, and the Bird Sanctuary about which we have heard much and which the birds love. I haven't spoken of the Steamer *Carlotta* and her Skipper, Capt. Burnham, who gave us oldsters many a good time. There are the steamers that took pleasure seekers up and down the Merrimac, there are the gunners and the shore birds which require a paper to themselves, there is the lone hackberry tree, proud and lonely as an old New England spinster, for it is the only one of its kind in all this vicinity. There are the gondolas⁹ on the Parker River carrying the salt hay and the Old-town Church picnickers. Once my typewriter struck here, and I stopped, but I must say a word about the Pesthouse and the Camp for children recovering from Infantile Paralysis.

On March 10, 1751/2 a committee was chosen to inspect all vessels that came into the Merrimac River, "to see whether there are any cases of small box on board," and later in the month a dwelling house was ordered to be built on the upper end of Plum Island as a pesthouse. There is a tradition in my family that a grandmother of mine went there to be inoculated for the disease. You may remember that Cotton Mather was not only famous for hunting down witches, but also for pursuing smallpox. Smallpox was the curse of the times, Mather had an inquiring mind and he always put his ideas into action. A member of the Royal Society, he read their Transactions of 1721, and learned that in Turkey to quote, "they buy small pox," A drop of pus was taken from the sore of a man actually sick with smallpox and placed on a scratch of a well person. The infection which soon developed was light, but unfortunately the

patient became a carrier and oftentimes the scars remained. Under ordinary conditions 10 to 75 victims of smallpox died out of every 100, but when inoculated one to three out of every 100. Inoculation parties in the late 1700's became fashionable, formal invitations were sent out for a group of friends to join in such festivities, and that was what happened to my above named grandmother. She recovered for here I am. I omitted to say that Cotton Mather passed on his information to Dr. Zabdiel Boylston, who after inoculating his only son, inoculated many others, and he and Cotton Mather found themselves in plenty of hot water. In 1840 inoculation was made unlawful in England on account of its danger; and vaccination had already practically taken its place. The pesthouse at Plum Island was not long-lived.

More long-lived, we hope, is the Plum Island site for the First Convalescent Camp for Infantile Paralysis, which at its opening in June 1947, had 250 children. A month ago I went in an automobile over the back road of Plum Island. It was a day when fleecy white clouds gambolled across the sky, the roadside was pink with wild roses, the air was sweet with their fragrance, saucy birds chirped at you knowing the Bird Sanctuary was near at hand, the springs of the car groaned at the prospect of the next grand bump. It was a wonderful day. The Old Life-Saving Station, near the middle of the Island, Knobbs, was all closed, the blinds shut. It looked deserted. Suddenly there was a deluge of children which poured out of the building. It was a miracle—indeed in more ways than one. Those “polio” children, with calm and happy attendants near by, threw themselves into the water and swam. Some shot down the slides near by, others were in swings, a few were on crutches, happy, too. This was the First Convalescent Camp for Infantile Paralysis, and I think it furnishes a grand ending for a paper on Plum Island.

NOTES BY RUSSELL LEIGH JACKSON

1 The inscription on Henry Sewall's gravestone reads as follows: "Mr. Henry Sewall (sent by Mr. Henry Sewall his father, in ye ship Elisabeth & Dorcas, Capt. Watts, commander) arrived at Boston, 1634, winterd at Ipswich, helped begin this plantation 1635, furnishing English servants, neat cattel & Provisions. Married Mrs Jane Dummer, March ye 25, 1646, died May, ye 16, 1700, AEtat 86. His fruitfull vine being thus disjoind, fell to ye ground January ye 13 following. AEtat 74. Psal, 27:10."

2 Capt. Ebenezer Sutton (1770-1838) son of Ebenezer and Katherine (Low) Sutton. He mar. Elizabeth Low, dau. of Deacon Joseph and Abigail (Low) Low. He was commander of the 40 ton schooner "Enterprize" and afterwards a well known river pilot. He piloted the "Ten Brothers" up the Ipswich river to her dock, which was considered quite a feat.

3 M. Gilshenon was a well known French scientist who attempted to extract salt from sea water as a commercial proposition. He came to America and tried his efforts without avail in some of the Maine seacoast towns. In 1830 he landed on Plum Island, which he considered ideal, and immediately proceeded to build windmills, install machinery and all the paraphernalia necessary for the experiment. He is said to have spent about \$80,000 in what turned out to be a failure. The property was advertised Feb. 20, 1832 to be sold by George W. Heard of Ipswich and was probably bought by Francis J. Oliver of Boston who conveyed it to Daniel Dole of Ipswich. (See Essex Deeds, book cclxxviii, leaf 62.) Philip D. Adams of Newbury gave an address on the salt works before the Old Newbury Historical Society, and which was reported in the *Newburyport News* Oct. 26, 1900 but he failed to mention the name of Gilshenon.

4 Moses Pettingell (1795-1874) son of Eleazer and Sally (Beckett) Pettingell bought the island in 1827 and under his management and that of his son Andrew H. Pettingell, it became a valuable bit of property. He married Mary Haskell, dau. of Caleb and Edna (Hale) Haskell of Deer Isle, Maine.

5 Capt. Offin Boardman (1747-1811) was the hero of the unusual incidents that occurred off Newburyport on Jan. 15, 1776. As captain of the privateer *Washington* he captured shortly after noon the British brig *Sukey*, Capt. Mandatt Engs, bound for Boston with provisions for the British army. This vessel he brought into Newburyport and about dusk another British vessel was sighted off the bar in distress. Proceeding to her with fifteen men in three whaleboats he found her to be the British ship *Friends*, Capt. Archibald Bowie, bound also to Boston. Through a ruse, this vessel he also brought into Newburyport, so that he captured two vessels in one day. He was a son of Offin and Hannah (Carr) Boardman and mar. (1) Sarah Greenleaf; (2) Sally Tappan.

6 Capt. Nicholas Brown (1784-1868) son of Capt. Nicholas and Lucy (Lamprey) Brown of Newburyport. He was master of a vessel in 1803 and continued his career until over seventy. For a time he was the keeper of the hotel on Plum Island. He was a member of the prominent Brown family of seafarers and merchant-captains. He mar. Jane Little, dau. of Amos and Hannah (Moody) Little of Newbury. (See "The Seafaring Browns" by Russell Leigh Jackson in *The Essex Institute Hist. Colls.* vol. LXXX, p. 55.) His portrait is in the house of the Historical Society of Old Newbury.

7 William Coombs, Michael Hodge and William Bartlett, all prominent Newburyport merchants, contributed largely to the cost of these beacons.

8 Capt. Abner Lowell (1731-1815) first to be appointed keeper of the lighthouse, was a son of Stephen and Miriam (Collins) Lowell of Amesbury. He mar. Elizabeth Eaton and their son Capt. Lewis Lowell (1768-1823) was the second keeper. He mar. Elizabeth Adams and their son Joseph Lowell (1800-1875) was the third of the family to fill this position. They served as keepers of the Plum Island light for about forty-seven years. One of Capt. Lewis Lowell's daughters mar. Capt. Dennis Condry, well known sea captain of Newburyport.

9 See "Tidal Marshes of Rowley with an account of the Old-time methods of marshing" by Amos E. Jewett in *The Essex Institute Hist. Colls.* vol. LXXXV, p. 272.

THE DAILY LIFE OF MRS. NATHANIEL
KINSMAN IN MACAO, CHINA

Excerpts from Letters of 1845

Contributed by Mrs. Frederick C. Munroe

(Continued from Volume LXXXVI, page 330)

1st. day, 2nd Mo., 2d, 1845

Beloved Sister:

The "Navigator" is not yet in sight, but is expected every moment. One of our boys (my husband's personal servant) has been home lately to get married—he says his wife is 17 years old.—He looks about 21 or 22 himself—The day he went, it was very inconvenient for us to spare him, as we were expecting company at dinner, and he understands waiting on table, better than any of the other servants, but his Father had sent for him & the Father's mandate is never to be disobeyed—I believe the Father selects the wife for the son, and he has nothing to do but obey.—Nathaniel received a letter from Mr. H. Osborn the other day, containing a kind invitation for us to come to Manila. I should like much to go. They have delightful drives at Manila & some fine horses & carriages and these I should greatly enjoy. The climate is fine too, & the scenery lovely—they have the rainy season, but no weather as cold as we have here.

My last date was on first day. That evening, Nathaniel proposed by way of varying our walk a little, to visit the Catholic Cemetery, which is at the other side of the town, and we went consequently through many of the back streets where I had never been before except in a chair, so that the scene was quite new to me, and it seemed very like the pictures of old European cities which we see. I wish I could describe this cemetery to thee, it is such a singular place—the facade of an old church (the remainder of which was destroyed by fire) remains standing and is ornamented with many statues, the largest and most prominent of which is one of the Virgin Mother. It stands on an eminence and is reached by a long flight



ABBOT KINSMAN

Born in China and died on July 4, 1864, at Iloilo, Philippine Islands
where he was engaged in business

of stone steps. In place of the church door, is an iron grating which opens into an area (formerly the body of the church) planted with grass & evergreens. And the other three walls have been built up to the height of perhaps 15 feet, which are divided into niches, each one just large enough to contain a coffin, and into the front of which is fitted a block of marble or granite. On our arrival, the gate was locked, but presently some little boys came running from a neighboring house, bringing a bunch of keys and some soon gave us admittance—opposite the entrance gate, at the other end of the area is a sort of alcove, containing an altar, with some pictures & candles burning—On our way home, we met a woman with a little girl on her back, apparently about ten years old, with her feet in those dreadful *casings*. The child's face was rather pretty, but expressed great suffering. It is said to be a dreadfully painful operation—that of compressing the feet,—children often cry for weeks without ceasing—and not unfrequently die in consequence. The American gentlemen are beginning again to assemble in Macao and it is pleasant to have them here.

At these seasons of the year, when ships do not often sail—say from June to November, I wish you would write overland—It seems so long for us not to hear, and even when ships do sail, between July & October, boats are liable to have long passages—

Fourth day evening 19th. Richard Rogers & son dined, took tea, and spent the night here, and the next morning after breakfast left for Whampoa—They walked with us on first day evening too, the elder gentleman being my gallant, and the younger Mary Anne's—He is a fine boy of 16—We met the Delanos, and had a cosy chat, saw all the children, and the gentlemen seemed to enjoy their walk On third day morning, to our great delight, an American Ship appeared in the roads, which proved to be the "Panama" from New York, & a note was received early in the morning before breakfast from Mr. Ritchie, directed to Mary Anne—saying "what bright eyes you have *not* got, down on the Praya, the 'Panama' is here, and the captain has been on shore, & taken a pilot, and

gone off to his ship again, to get under way for Whampoa"—Mr. Ritchie lives in a back street, and has not as good a view of the roads as we have. I should have premised that on First day evening, Mr. R. made a bet with Mary Anne, (in expectation of the "Panama's" arrival) of a beautiful work-box against a pair of slippers, that she would receive a letter by that ship—Very soon however, we were informed that no letters could be delivered in Macao until Mr. Griswold (the son of the owner of the ship) should have received his in Canton—and this certainly was no more than right—but it was not very pleasant As to dancing,¹ we think thee did just right, to allow him to join the other boys in taking lessons These things help civilize boys. . . . My husband wishes me to add a little more on the subject of Willie's dancing lessons. He says if the price is \$10., or even \$15. a year, he is willing he should continue to take them. In directing Mrs. Follen's letter per Overland Mail . . . it should be "Fletcher, Alexander & Co." . . . and another thing to be remembered is, not to seal overland letters with sealing wax—it makes them too heavy—a wafer is sufficient—We have several pleasant arrivals in anticipation . . . the "Atquetnet" or some such name, by which Mr. Lejée is to send the sofas & rocking chairs, which we sent for by him, & the "Huntress" by which he sends our bonnets & a few other small articles. Thee will perhaps think it strange that we should have sent by him for such things as bonnets, but as he offered, and I was sure it would afford him pleasure to get them, I thought it would save thee a great deal of trouble We had a very pleasant visit at Mrs. Delano's on Sixth day evening . . . The dinner was elegant & we had music & conversation in the evening The "Midas" is not here yet It will be delightful to have a Steamer to run up & down the river, as we understand the "Midas" is to do—independent of wind or tide. The Delanos received a trunk from home by the "Panama," containing some splendid new dresses &c.—They each wore one the other evening—Mrs. D.'s was of plaid silk—Dora's of plaid barage (?)—beautiful

1 Speaking of the son, Willie, left at home.

Mr. Storey is stopping with us—he brought me dear father's daguerreotype, with which I am much delighted. . . . Mr. Storey tells me he took charge of a barrel of Molasses which is still on board ship, . . . Many thanks for your kind attention to it—we shall be very glad of it, and shall think of you always when eating it—

First day, Macao. 3d mo. 16th. 1845

10 o'clock—Joy—joy—beloved one—here is a schooner which looks like the “Dart” . . . It is six months since she left home . . . (*a little later*) . . . Capt Kennedy has met with no disaster, but his long passage is owing to contrary winds & calms—one calm of 30 odd days—off the Cape of Good Hope—He has had some trouble with his crew, but nothing very serious, I believe . . . I am sitting in my own room to write—With you, it is toward morning, notwithstanding Dr. Earle's opinion, that it is impossible to calculate the difference of time between us & you—Experienced Navigators laugh at this idea—My husband says it may be calculated to a moment—Until the beginning of this year the time at Manila, (which may be reached in three or four days from this, with a fair wind) was one day before the time here—that is, when it was First day here it was Second day there—This was owing to the Spaniards who first settled Manila, having arrived there from the East, while the Portuguese in coming to China came in an opposite direction . . .

(Of the Children)

Ecce's disposition is lovely, and she is a general favorite.—She likes to “shut her eyes & see things” as she calls it, and often says she can see people & things at home—but more often Willie than any-one else. She seems to love him very much, and often wishes he was here to read & play with her. She comes every morning as soon as she is washed & dressed, into my room, with a bright smile like a sun-beam, which always gives me a glow of pleasure—I sometimes tremble when I think how much I love her, and how could I be resigned if required to give her up—The baby is a darling and a particular pet of his Father. It is really a pretty sight, to see the little

ones, with their nurses, assembled in the green every afternoon. There are 6 or 8 who are there every day, and the nurses enjoy a bit of gossip together, as this is the only time they go out. There is no spending the evening out, or any of that sort of thing among them—which is a real comfort. . . . The children are disappointed today in not getting a box of toys which Wm. Moore brought for them from Bombay,—as the Custom House is closed for a few days they cannot have them yet.

Macao 3d mo. 11th. 1845

Yesterday I went with my husband to make several calls—On Mrs. Loreiro, a Portuguese lady, who is about my age, and has a family of *fourteen children*, then on Mrs. Van Basil, the wife of the Dutch Consul, an extremely pleasant & intelligent person, and then to the Hotel, to see a Mrs. Duns (?), the wife of a Danish gentleman (the Agent at Hong Kong of Wetmore Company) and her sister, both Welsh ladies.

I mentioned the return of our friend Wm. Moore from Bombay—He gave some very interesting details of his visits at Madras, Bombay, Calcutta & Ceylon of the magnificent style in which people live etc. The gentleman with whom he stayed in Calcutta (though the family consisted of only three persons) kept a household of 40 servants! He brought Mary Anne the “Book of Beauty” for the present year—He also had the kindness to procure at Calcutta, a dozen pairs of gloves each for Mary Anne & myself, but not being sealed up, they were spotted & spoiled & he threw them overboard—Was it not a pity? If thee sees the “Book of Beauty” please notice the first picture, the portrait of the Marchioness of Douro. She is the daughter of the Marquis of Tweesdale, the Governor of Ceylon—Wm. Moore dined there (at the Governor’s) and was treated with the greatest kindness & politeness. He had the honor of handing the Marchioness (the mother) to table, who he says is a splendid woman. The Governor told him he had been in America where he was treated with much kindness, and that he had been wishing very much to see some Americans that he might

repay a part of it At Macao, Bombay, etc., he received the kindest attentions.

I received a note from Dr. Anderson this morning, informing me of the birth of his little son—It is the custom here to send word to all one's friends on these occasions.

The overland has arrived this morning, bringing dates from the United States to the middle of Nov. from which it appears that Polk is chosen President—Sad, sad—my husband feels very much depressed by this intelligence, for his interest in Political matters is quite as great as ever—His hopes were very much raised by the cheering tidings of Clay's brilliant prospects, until the "Panama's" arrival a week or two since, when things began to look darker, and since then he has been fearing, tho' very anxious to hear the result. Now, I suppose, all sorts of calamities will be predicted for our beloved country, and I fear too justly, if the favorite measures of the party now in power, are carried out.

N. K. Postscript

I don't find that this letter contains any messages of love from me; you will therefore please consider Wife & myself *One* Tell Father the news of the election of Polk gave me a very considerable fit of the *blues* from which I have hardly yet recovered. I have always been a great admirer of Clay & until very recently did not entertain a doubt of his triumphant election. But *alas!* the *dear people* have willed it otherwise. We can now only hope that Mr. Polk will prove to be a better man than we expected and that the government will be well administered.

Macao 3d Mo. 20th 1845

Fifth day evening

. . . . Mrs. Sword's husband showed me two daguerreo-type likenesses he had taken of himself in Canton, by Mr. West, the young artist, who came out with C. Cushing. . . . This artist has taken a great many likenesses of the Chinese who are extremely delighted, and think it *wonderful pigeon*, as well they may. They say "Mashee price, suppose you can catchy all same facey." As I

was up late last night, and my *eyes grow narrow*, I will say adieu for to-night. As it is Easter week the Portuguese are all very much engaged in their devotions, and no business is to be done—the Custom House is closed, and we must wait till next week before we can have our articles cleared. The children have received their box of toys which Wm. Moore brought them from Bombay. I do not know how it was managed to get them through the Custom House but old Mr. Sturgis who has a good deal of influence here, managed it somehow, & sent them here, together with a box containing some *demijohns* of *Rose-water*, if one can imagine such a thing, and a bag of *pickles*. The children are very much pleased with the toys. They are of wood, and seem strong and *serviceable*—consisting of elephants, with their riders, tigers, dogs, monkeys, deer etc, all upon wheels so that they can draw them about upon the verandah . . . The French toy, which Dadabhoy gave Ecce would suit Willie better—it is constructed upon the same principle with the Chinese toy, with a sight of which Cousin Lydia used to gratify the children sometimes, having sand in the box, and representing the interior of a blacksmith's shop, with the operatives all at work.

The “J. S. Coster” & “Hamlet” have sailed both without stopping at Macao, greatly to our disappointment as well as that of everyone else here—but sailing at the same time & with good wind each Captain was determined his ship should be the first home—therefore neither would stop, lest the other should go on Yesterday Mary Anne, Baby & Self passed the day at Mrs. Delano's and had a very *cozy* nice visit, leaving Ecce & Natty at home with John. . . . We “compared notes,” as people say, & found we had many common or rather mutual acquaintances—in New Bedford, New York and various other places—Mrs. Delano's baby, the little Susie, is a sweet little thing, and she & our little Abbot looked so sweetly together. I mentioned the “Aquetnet's” arrival on the fourth day, the packages (from Philadelphia) came and we had the grand opening. Two sofas & two rocking-chairs—rather pretty, 3 bonnets, beautiful, M. A.'s and

mine of Neapolitan—mine trimmed with a white riband, as neat & pretty as possible—Ecca's a drawn bonnet of col'd lawn, similar to the one she brought from home, & very pretty. Some shoes for all three of us, which fit perfectly & are very nice—a lovely wax doll which opens & shuts its eyes and makes Ecca quite happy—a large tin box of bonbons for the children in perfect order—a box of toys for Natty, some books for Mary Anne & some preserved peaches for me—these last were a present from Mr. Lejée—was he not kind to send them? Thee may imagine what an interesting occasion the opening of the boxes was.

Second day 31st. The bells are tolling constantly and have been for the last two days, and on Seventh day, cannon were fired at short intervals through the day—These demonstrations denote the *death* of the old Superannuated Bishop of Macao, who died on sixth day night, and the attempt on the part of his faithful friends & followers to shorten the period of his probation in Purgatory—but where is the benefit of having been a Dignitary of the Church on Earth, if his release from that sad abode depends upon the labours on his behalf of a number of inferior priests—the funeral is to take place tomorrow and my husband, among the other foreigners, is invited to attend the ceremonies

It is raining, dark & gloomy and we may be excused for feeling a little homesick on such a day as this. If it were not for the dear children, I do not think I could content myself to live here, when my husband is away, but the care of them is of such an interesting & engrossing a nature, that I have not time, had I the disposition, (which I have not) to be unhappy. Nathaniel in his letter received this morning mentions having seen Captain Mugford's wife now at Canton—He tells me he was engaged to dine with Mrs. Ripley—I think I have frequently mentioned her as a very splendid woman, but I do not think I have mentioned her having a *very jealous husband*, which is notoriously the case—She seems, however, to be very fond of him—She is much admired in

Canton for her beauty and Nathaniel says "reigns queen among the ladies"

Third day, 1st of Fourth Month

The poor old Bishop's remains were today committed to their last resting place with much ceremony. May they rest in peace. He was taken from church to church, in an open bier, dressed in his canonical robes—with a procession military & civil accompanying—many masses said etc, etc,—I trust thee, dearest & all my beloved ones at home are well and happy and rejoicing in the certainty that we are all under the care & in the keeping of a kind & watchful Father, the best & choicest of whose blessings I earnestly desire for those so dear to me.

Fourth day evening 4th mo. 2nd. After breakfast, I settled the month's account with the Comprador, and was startled at its amount—but it cannot be helped. If one lives here, it must cost a large sum, and it is difficult to economize, and impossible beyond a certain limit.

We had a call this morning from Mr. Cole & Dr. Hopper, the missionary who is to remain in Macao for the present—a bright & rather good-looking young man. He says he intends commencing a school for Chinese boys immediately, and has already the promise of a large number (the difficulty consists in obtaining girls). The boys are to live entirely at the Mission House—He has been teaching for several months in the Mission School at H. Kong—and he says some of the Chinese pupils there, he considers remarkable boys. One quite young boy declined going home at the usual vacation, which is at the New Year, on account of the idolatrous ceremonies in which he would be obliged to take part and when he did go home a little later, described the difficulties he had to encounter in getting permission to return to the school, particularly from his Mother, who wished him to avail himself of his knowledge of the English language, to get service in some family and make it profitable in earning *money*, the God of their idolatry. All this he says the boy described very interestingly

Mrs. Stewart is just completing a very beautiful em-



CHINESE TOMB

Drawn and Engraved by Thomas and William Daniell, 1810

broidery in wools—a little girl with a kitten in her arms, in an oval, like a portrait, with a beautiful wreath of roses etc, around it, making it a square picture, which she intends having framed. Some gentleman, who has been in China, on his return, sent her from Paris seven of the prettiest patterns I have ever seen, with the requisite canvass & wools—was it not a beautiful present? We are expecting the U. S. Ship “Constitution” every day, from Manila, and that will give a little gayety to this dull place. John Rogers has been here this morning and made a long call. His young cousin Jacob will remain in China, his father having left him as a clerk in the office. . . . Nathaniel writes me that he has procured & put on board the “Arcatus” for thee, dearest, some vases and a few other small articles. Capt. Mugford has kindly engaged to pay the duties at the Boston Custom-House, and send them to Salem. Father will please repay this to him . . . It will probably be about \$2.00. There is also on board a box of tea for Mother Kinsman—on this there will be no duty, the only expense will be the freight from Boston—If he is not too busy, he would put on board the “Arcatus” some bows & arrows for Willie and some fire-crackers. I don’t know as thee or any of you will quite approve of these toys—I know he is very fond of firing with the bow & arrow and I think the exercise a good one, strengthening and expanding the chest, and by firing at a target improving the steadiness of hand & eye. At Mrs. Delano’s, they have a target fixed in the garden, and a fine collection of bows & arrows and we sometimes go up and practise archery with them. Some person, from this circumstance, has given their place, the name of Arrowdale. We had for dinner today some green peas, sent me by Mrs. Delano. They were raised in their garden. The Chinese gardners cultivate peas, but they are not at all good. We are getting more & more in the way of having home dishes—Astor-House corn-bread takes its place on the breakfast table every morning and hasty pudding is a favorite dish—Bread puddings & custards John makes, just as we used to have them at home, and far better than any of the *concoctions* of the Chinese cooks Dora

sent me last evening a dish of *baked beans* Second day Morning—Where shall I find words, my beloved sister, to describe the scenes of last night—or rather this morning? We were kept awake until a late hour by a great noise on the Beach—a fast boat having got on shore and the Boat men made a terrible noise trying to get her off.—At about three o'clock this morning, I was awakened by some one knocking at my door, exclaiming “Mrs. Kinsman, will you let me in, our house is in flames?” I jumped out of bed and opened the door and there stood Dora (with the dear Baby in her arms) in her *night cap & gown*, with only a blanket shawl over her shoulders and her feet in a pair of slippers—She put her Baby into my arms saying, “Will you take care of her?” and was gone in an instant. In about ten minutes more she & Mrs. Delano were back in my room, still in their night dresses saying it was impossible to save anything, that the smoke was so dense in their rooms, that they were unable to enter them and they came down here, *entirely unattended*, running all the way, through a pouring rain & the streets quite dark. They have lost nearly everything—all their elegant furniture, silver plate (of which there was an immense quantity) and nearly all their clothes. Dora has not one dress, of any description. Mrs. Delano has a few winter ones saved. Their underclothes are all gone—Is it not a terrible misfortune? Yet they feel so grateful that all have escaped with life & limb that they bear their losses like philosophers—better, like Christians. Their house was in the most beautiful order for summer, furnished with everything that the heart could desire. They had just received from home & from England a stock of everything they wanted here, in the way of dresses, etc, preserves, essences, spices etc, etc.—Pictures, books all, all have gone and the things which Mr. Delano most regrets the loss of, seems to be some very valuable books, which he had ordered out from England, and which arrived a short time since. . . . It caught undoubtedly from the chimney in the nursery—It appears really Providential that Mr. Delano was in Macao—had he not been there nothing could have been saved, as the Comprador &

servants were all too much stupified with fright to do anything, except as they were directed—As it was the Office Books & papers were saved & the money

They (the Delanos) have gone to Gideon Nye's house, which was unoccupied. . . . There is no house which they can obtain, which will at all compare with the one they have lost and Mr. Delano is desirous that the Landlord should rebuild upon the old walls, which are still standing firm & strong. Mr. W. has taken another house in the Praya very near us—preferring a separate establishment of his own.

After dinner M. A. & I went up to see Mrs. Delano, met Mrs. Smith there in her riding habit, having been riding on horseback . . . Dora had on a very pretty babzoline (bombazine?) dress, which she was so fortunate to obtain here. It was one which Mrs. King brought out and hearing me say I was in want of one, had sent it to me. Fortunately I had not used it and it is just the thing for Dora, who I mentioned before, lost every dress she owned—*not one* was saved—Mrs. D. saved several . . . On Seventh day we dined at Mrs. Ritchie's at seven o'clock—the party given I suppose in honour of Mr. Wetmore, Mrs. Smith, Mrs. King, Mr. & Mrs. van Basil (the Dutch Consul), Mr. P. Peirce, Messrs. Wetmore & Lunn, the Delanos & ourselves—after leaving, several of us walked up to see the *ruins* by moonlight, softened by the pale moonlight it was a truly picturesque scene. They have found a considerable quantity of melted silver, among the ruins & Mrs. Delano's gold thimble bent & blackened but not melted. Directly under the spot, where stood a large bookcase, are great quantities of burned paper, retaining perfectly its original form, and the plates & printing on many of the leaves are perfect, until disturbed, when the whole disappears like tinder. It was a late hour when we reached home.

April, 1845.

The Overland mail has arrived today, bringing letters from home as late as the middle of December. It came very soon after the one for the preceding month, vessels up the China Sea have had this season, such very long

passages. Mrs. Delano received letters from her sister, written on the anniversary of Mrs. D.'s marriage. These letters confirm the truth of Polk's election, but her sister says they are going to have some sort of good time that day, in honour of the occasion, notwithstanding the Political unhappiness My Amah has gone home today to be absent four days—"to worship" as the Comprador says. He knows very little English & is very much delighted when he does know a word, to make use of it and I could not help being amused to observe the pleasure with which he said to "wussip" which he probably thinks an important word. During this month it is the Chinese custom to visit the graves of departed friends, & place offerings upon them, this being considered a religious duty. I believe my Amah is a widow and probably wishes to chin-chin in behalf of her departed husband. They always wish to take money with them. My tailor has gone, greatly to my inconvenience, and the "House Coolie" or servant who has charge of the Parlour, lamps, etc, etc has just returned after an absence of several days. I wish thee could have seen the Amah when she came in to bid me good bye & to take leave of the Baby—dressed in her very best & looking really nice. They are very fond of jewels and she wore earrings, silver bracelets (which are merely rings of silver which are put on over the hand), a gold band on the hair and two silver bodkins, which stick out like horns in front of the hair—the dress of dark blue cotton edged with black, with an undergarment of white cotton, the sleeves of which show below the blue ones at the elbow—black cotton trousers & embroidered sandals. The sleeves of these Chinese women's dresses are very handsome. She has left a substitute in her place, but as the Baby is very much afraid of her, she is not of much use

We have very few flowers now. The camelias have all gone and the roses nearly so. The tuberose are in bloom & are very sweet and white like those we have at home but not much else. The winter flowers have passed away and the summer ones not yet come—Did thee think of my birthday when it passed the 23d of this month? And

this is Ecce's birthday the 27th. Ecce is six years old. How rapidly time passes, but how heedless are we of its progress. Why, why is it so? Oh that we could completely realize the uncertainty of time.

Letter to her husband

26 April 1845

I happened yesterday to go out to see the cow, and found she appeared to be very hungry, and not a spear of grass to be seen, and John told me that there had none been brought since thee went away, *four days*—I told the Comprador I should cut his account half a dollar, and if he did not get some very soon—a *dollar*—this was about twelve o'clock—but he did not get any till between four & five—Mr. Wetmore has been scolding him about it this morning, but I do not suppose it will do any good—the Rascal—how I dislike him.

(Letter to Sister)

On Seventh day, the 3d, our cow became very sick—This cow, thee may recollect, is the one given to the children, by Capt. F. Brown, and was invaluable to us. On fourth day, our cow died, making the third we have lost within the year. Both Comprador and Cow-man were very much concerned for her. She seemed at first to have a violent cold and afterward a *fever*. Everything was done for her that could be done but without avail—the death is a great misfortune to us. We now buy milk at 15 cts a bottle, which answers for tea, though not very good, and Mrs. Ritchie sends me goat's milk to feed the Baby twice a day, which is very good for him . . . I was called down just here to look at a *cow*, which the Comprador had brought for me to look at, a China cow. The man asks (at least so says the Comprador) the exorbitant sum of \$55 for her—Probably at least \$10.00 of this sum, is added for his own share of profit. (Later)—I think I told thee of the loss we had met with by the death of our good cow—Now I will tell thee of an arrangement I have made to obtain good and pure milk—The Chinese Cows are very small, and give very little milk,

but it is of very rich quality, much richer than that of English or American Cows. But as they are not accustomed to being milked, (the Chinese never using milk in any form), they soon go dry, and it is very unprofitable buying one—indeed, in order to have a good and regular supply, we must keep two. I have made an arrangement with a man who has a very good Cow to bring her here morning and evening, and milk her, and John stands by and takes charge of the Milk—We have a quart in the morning and the same in the evening of delicious cream-like milk, and no responsibility in any way about the Cow, for how much does thee think? \$16 a month!! This sounds large does it not? but we used to pay \$12 a month for our cow-man and the food we provided—and then the risk of the cow's dying was I think greater than the extra 4 dollars—Mrs. Ritchie bought a very fine cow the other day—or rather a short time since, for which she paid \$100—and it was thought quite a bargain—and she lived only a month afterward.

Fifth day

Macao 5th Mo. 15th 1845

My beloved sister—

Firstly then, let me tell thee that the “Midas,” the long looked for, long expected, and at length wholly given up “Midas,” has at length arrived—She came in, *steaming*, yesterday morning about 11 o'clock—having been from home more than six *months*. We could scarcely believe our own eyes. The “Midas” encountered a very severe gale near the Cape of Good Hope & which did her much damage—and at one time all on board gave themselves up for lost—They went into the “Isle of France” or Mauritius, to repair damages, where they were detained 30 days, & again stopped at Singapore for a supply of coals (which however they could not obtain) 3 days—which stops account in some measure for the extraordinary length of her passage

I was very much interested in every particular to Miss Follen.² I am glad thee was faithful in telling her all

2 With whom her eldest son was left.

thy fears & particularly about George Higginson's bad language. If there is any doubt or question about it, I will add that even *here* in China, 17000 miles away, I have heard from a source entirely foreign to any of my usual avenues of information & quite incidentally, about this boy's habit of using bad language—so bad, that a young man from Boston told me, that his mother had forbidden her little boy, a younger brother of my informant (who lived near him) to play with him. However, I trust if Willie sees the impiety as well as impropriety of the habit, the bad effect of the example will be in a great measure obviated.

After dinner, Mary Anne & I went down to the gate with the children, when looking toward the roads, we spied a vessel coming in, under a press of the whitest possible canvass—We came up to the verandah, & saw by the glass that she had the American Signal, and soon recognized the private signal, at the mainmast, of her owners Howland & Aspinwall—We ran in to see if the Delanos had seen her—as we knew at once that it must be the “Rainbow” & found them all on the lookout Very soon after breakfast came the large and interesting looking packet—with “Mr. Saltonstall's Compliments”—and soon after came the young man himself with Capt. Land—I was very glad to see him, as he was from Salem, and the son of a Lady, for whom I have great respect, altho I am entirely unacquainted with her— Among the books received from home, Dora had—Dickens' new Story the “Chimes.” They engaged to come in & take tea with us next evening & read it aloud

Yesterday I had a call from “Brother Roberts,” as he is usually called, a Missionary who has been in China many years. He differs in his views & method of proceeding from the other Missionaries—living among the Chinese, wearing their dress, even to the *Cue*, and speaking their language. On account of his independent manner of proceeding, he has been disowned by the other Missionaries, and is now supported by individual donations. . . . I heard afterward that he was himself about

marrying a Chinese Woman—I don't know whether the report be true.

Macao—First Day 6 Mo. 1st. 1845

My beloved sister—

The bright & sunny month of June has come again—and two years have passed since we left our own dear Native land. The Overland mail just arrived brings dates from England to the 8th of March, but nothing later than the 1st. Feb. from the United States. This is owing to their being but one Steamer a month from America to England during the winter months. . . . Soon after breakfast, I received a letter from my husband—He was very well and tells me the Canton World are just now very busy Boat-Racing—They had a grand regatta about two miles up the River a few days since (The European World of Canton—not the Chinese)—Nathaniel, not being a lover of such amusements, does not give me a description of it, he merely says he was present. . . . The Dragon Festival, too, has just taken place. Thee will recollect my description last year, of some of the Boat-Races (Chinese) at this Festival. There has been a very destructive fire lately at Canton, inside the city walls—in which many thousands lost their lives. It originated in a “Sing-Song” or Theatre.

I have some commissions, but must let them rest till next letter and some matters for thy private ear, which must likewise wait. I hear Johnny on the verandah talking to Abbott, and asking him if he wants to go home & see Grandpapa—that if he does “now in his chance” in the “Rainbow.”

Nathaniel Kinsman to his wife:

June 1st. 1845

The “Rainbow” it is said, will be dispatched Tuesday morning—is it not a shame that I have not found time to go down and see this beautiful vessel? Almost every American in Canton has made a visit to Whampoa for the purpose of seeing her. But I don't see how I can leave my business, a trip to Whampoa spoils an entire day, and



FESTIVAL OF THE DRAGON BOAT, 5TH DAY OF 5TH MOON

Engraved by B. Brandard

now the tide does not serve well, so I must postpone seeing her until she returns again. . . . It annoys Wetmore beyond measure to hear anyone praise the "Rainbow," several have told him they thought her the handsomest ship that ever came to China, or that they ever saw. You know he thinks nothing ever built, or to be built, can, or will, compare with the "Montauk," which vessel he almost worships, and for me to say anything against her is sure to incur his displeasure. How childish, is it not? From what I have heard others say, I should judge the "Rainbow" was a far handsomer vessel than the much talked of, and too loudly praised "Montauk." The sailing qualities of the latter, however, cannot be disputed, and the passage to China will remain for many, many years,³ unsurpassed, "handsome is as handsome does."

Macao—6th Mo. 6th 1845
Sixth Day

(Mrs. Kinsman)

I closed very hastily yesterday morning and sent a letter to thee, my beloved Sister, of two sheets by the "Rainbow," which will undoubtedly report her own arrival out, as no vessel has sailed for the U. States since her arrival. We did not know until the moment of her leaving, that Henry Saltonstall did not go in the Ship—which I think was rather a pity, as Capt. Land is a most worthy and excellent man, and seemed to feel a strong interest in his young passenger. He has applied for a passage in the "Sappho"—His only reason for changing was the unpleasant society of some young men who came out for their *moral health*—and another one of the same stamp having engaged a passage home in her, I suppose he thought it would be rather disagreeable. My husband is still there (Canton) and has been there for nearly two months—the longest time that he has ever yet stayed there without coming down.

(To Her Husband)

Did Mr. Saltonstall tell thee how miserably they fared in the "Rainbow"—no fowls, no sheep—1 chicken for

³ First voyage—88 days.

dinner with salt beef for all those passengers—Bad water—no wine & no beer—& \$500 passage money—I don't blame them not going home in her.

During the afternoon an American ship came in, and in the evening Capt. Millet of Salem of the "Ann Maria" walked in quite to our surprise. No one could imagine what ship it was as her private signal was unknown to anyone here. Had Nathaniel been here, he would undoubtedly have recognized it as being David Pingree's. . . . H. Saltonstall has been staying with us very agreeably for the last week. He has been giving me some of the items of news, received by Overland letters. Among other things—the report of flirtations between Georgiana Silsbee & Mr. Rogers, & Lucy Saltonstall & Dr. Tuckerman of Boston—Georgiana tells him of the probable engagement of his Sister to Dr. Peirson, which he seems to think not unlikely.

Second day morning
6th Mo. 23d—1845

My beloved Sister—

Since I wrote last, we have had an arrival by Overland Mail, bringing news from the United States to the Middle of March I think—and very important news too, nothing less than that Texas has actually become a part of our Union, thereby rendering a war with Mexico extremely probable—Again that the Oregon question has roused England—and some persons say a war with her is not unlikely—very sad tidings truly—I long to hear from my husband, after the receipt of the news, to know how he feels about it.

This is one of the most oppressively warm days I have ever experienced, and not merely warm, but enervating and depressing—Scarcely a breath of air to stir the leaves, which hang motionless upon the trees—It is not usual, it is said, to have such very warm weather so early in the season—The two past days the mercury has stood at from 93 to 95 in the house.

We are to have a change in our Comprador—a new man has arrived this morning from Canton to take the place

of the old one—who is to leave as he does not give satisfaction.

John desires to be remembered to you all very kindly. He is well but his *natural activity* does not increase by his easy mode of life. Still he is valuable to us. I intend writing again soon Overland, as there are no more ships to sail for some time, and I should feel more secure of its reaching you in case of war, sent that way. Oh, may a kind Providence protect us from so dire a calamity. Farewell darling Sister. I trust before I write again to be able to acknowledge the receipt of letters from dear home. Kindest love to Mother Kinsman, & Mary & Eliza & the Children—

With warmest love, believe me dearest,
Ever thy own

Rebecca

My beloved One^{3a}—

Thee may remember the young Cooly whom we disliked so much—Mr. L. has found a good deal of fault with him lately, and told the Comprador to dismiss him last month, but he did not, and the other morning, Mr. L. found him *smoking a cigar* upstairs—This was of course unpardonable, and he *kicked* him downstairs, and had him turned away immediately

I received a note from Mr. DeMello⁴ about dinner time, acknowledging receipt of thine, accompanied by bills, etc. Thee did not mention expecting this, but as I know the money has been received, I suppose there is nothing to be done about it. I have heard nothing from Dent & Co. yet. We took tea in the parlour tonight & I wish thee could have seen what a fuss they made. Neither Comprador⁵ nor boy knew in the least how to bring in tea. The Comprador has that bad looking man here today.

I have fifty things to say but the baby is crying and I

3a In letters to her husband in Canton, Mrs. Kinsman gives more details of the difficulties of living and housekeeping in Macao, the anxieties and irritations about which she never wrote home.

4 Mr. DeMello was Portuguese agent for Wetmore & Co. in Macao.

5 The Comprador was the head servant and acted as intermediary.

have constant interruptions. Since I began to write, the shoemaker, and the washman have been here, I have been obliged to oversee the tailors, & am in momentary expectation of the carpenter to fix the parlor door. The children do pretty well—Ecca is very good—I shall be obliged to be very determined with Natty. Please say if any message is to be sent to Dent & Co. if they should not acknowledge the receipt of the bills before long. Please say if I had better speak to the Comprador about that *man* being still here. The servants are all being very attentive, and we managed pretty well about tea last night. Do send me a good Comprador, one who can speak some English. Don't let the old Comprador send another such miserable wretch as this. What excuse does he give for sending this one? He has that man that Natty calls the *Devil*, here all the time. Mrs. Sword has engaged Mrs. Tiers' Comprador much to my regret, as I had set my heart on having him So it is possible that Mr. Wetmore is going so soon and that we shall not see him again. Tell him with my kind regards that I shall regret this very much—(tho' I don't think he likes me at all)—I think thee is very silent on business matters.

I have been settling with the Comprador this morning, the month's account. It amounts to \$169.10—of which \$4.50 was paid for blankets for the house—Letters from Canton \$3.65—Boat hire 50 cts. I do not know what part of the servants wages thee charges to W. & Co. I suppose the Watchman and one Coolie, as they would be employed if we were not here—I had the treasury opened, to get the money—would it not be better to let the Comprador take out 20 or 40 dollars, and keep outside for daily occurring expenses—There were some matters which I told the Comprador to let stand till further orders—one small order from Capt. Cheever and a large one of \$3,000.00 paid to some Chinaman, Samqua, I think by order of W. & Co. (NOTE: later, another month's payment). It is very large—I believe the only part belonging to the house is the postage a/c \$3.40 & post office ditto—however I will mention the items—

Chow Chow a/c & usual servants' wages \$128.42. Extras—such as carpenter's, shoemaker's & tailor's bills—

flannel from Mrs. King, Hams, washmen, etc.—\$70.24—Pull away boat (to bring hams, I think he said, \$1.25). Pilot-boat bringing fish, etc., from “Antelope,” 50, Custom house coolies \$2.00. Tanka boat, 25—Post office coolie \$1.00—Sum total for March \$207.61. (Presents of teas—) I do not approve of sending any to Anne—Anne has never written to us, except a few lines in one of Maria’s letters—I would alter the destination of that Box (as Stephen is rich—Wm. poor).

The Compradore was obliged to open the Treasury for money to pay the month’s expenses—and if the \$2000. now there, are sent up, there will be none left to keep house with. I have forgotten whether thee directed me to send it up, without further orders or not. Two o’clock——Mary Anne has just gone into play battledore with Mrs. King by special invitation. I would not add to thy cares, my darling, & will therefore do my best to bear with this Comprador a while longer. I cannot help regretting that we did not secure Mr. Tiers’ Comprador, as Mr. T. says his brother is a good business man, and a responsible Comprador, while Achong is an excellent servant. I hope I have not betrayed any secrets as to the “Montauk’s” sailing or Mr. Wetmore’s going on her. I don’t think it will be at all necessary to have an agent here, except to give you information as to the sailing of ships to India—and I think you might request Dadabhoy⁶ or someone else to do this through me.

The French Embassy are to leave this morning for Manila. A circular has been brought here this morning, requesting foreign residents to give the names of their commercial houses, & the individuals composing them. It was brought here first, before anyone had written in it, and I sent it away, not knowing what to do about it. It was brought back again and I wrote as follows:

Wetmore & Co., Canton—

Samuel Wetmore, Jr.

Nathaniel Kinsman

Samuel B. Rawle

William Moore

Stephen Baldwin

Joseph C. Anthon

Charles Howe

⁶ Dadabhoy was a very well known Indian merchant.

I did not know whether to add Mr. Gilman's name or not. If there are any others which ought to be added please tell me so.

The "Devil" keeps pretty much out of sight, but I saw him this morning, and told the Comprador if he did not send him away, Mr. Kinsman would make "plenty Bobbery long of he"—To which he made his invariable answer—"My have talkee he." . . . Mr. Nye has just been in and says a Lorch has come in, bringing in tow another Lorch without men, & everything even sails taken from her. She was found near the nine islands and had evidently been robbed and probably all on board murdered—Horrible—Horrible—I shall be unwilling thee should come down, unless thee can come in a ship.

Farewell my love—shall hope to hear from thee tomorrow.

Thy own Rebecca

This morning Mr. Nye has been in & told me the "Montauk" passed Caberetta Point about 11 o'clock this A. M. with a fine breeze, studding sails out & "looking beautifully."

How *very, very* busy you all are, if the money would only come in, in proportion to your devotion to business, it would be well—I received this morning the enclosed note from Mr. De Mello, to which I replied as thee will see—I do not know as thee will consider it a proper answer, if not, tell me so—I wish I knew what I ought to do in such cases, but as I have no one to advise me, I am obliged to do as well as I can. The draft for \$3000 has been presented this morning & paid. Samqua's name is affixed as the recipient—Thee says, "return the draft to us," so I suppose thee considers it safe to send it by fast-boat; and I think I shall enclose it today. I believe this is all of a business nature.

Agreeably to thy request, I opened & read Mr. Wetmore's note—He requested thee to send to Mr. Smith's Comprador to get a muster of Cash—I would have sent the Comprador to do it, but knowing his—Mr. W's, aversion to my having anything to do with the affairs of the

house, I did not like to—but just now a happy idea (as I think) struck me to send for Mr. Howe and desire him to do it—so I have and he promises to attend to it. . . .

We have opened the remaining boxes and thee will be glad to hear that the bonnets are beautiful—mine faultlessly so—trimmed with pure white—Ecca's sweetly pretty. I long to show thee my very pretty bonnet. I am sure thee will like it—tho' it has more trimming on it than I usually wear. Goodbye, dearest—kind regards to (must I say) Mr. Wetmore?

Think of—

love and pray for, they own

true Rebecca

(I fancy Mr. W's letter will make thee rather wrothy)

I hope the note I sent up with my last did not make thee too wrothy; and am sorry I did not add a word of caution to it. Tell me all about everything—what *he* says to thee, etc. . . . I quite conjectured myself into anxiety last night, fancying among other things, that that note from Mr. W. which I sent up, might have produced a rupture, & perhaps thee had resigned etc., etc.— (Later) Mr. Wetmore came in & passed the evening—was very pleasant. He told me last night his pudding was all gone (I have sent one every other day) and when I said, "I will send you one tomorrow with pleasure," his reply was "I suppose it is no more trouble, when you are making, to make two than one"—!!

Dearest Sister: Don't indulge any fears, dearest, about our personal safety. I do not *fear* at all, tho' I sometimes feel lonely, I confess, when my husband is absent, & we are by ourselves in this large house—Yet as we have a trusty Watchman, & all necessary precautions are taken, and I consider our servants faithful, that is, as far as Chinese can be faithful, I never feel at all alarmed—at least I have not as yet. I have heard from my husband who gives me the pleasant intelligence that he's coming to Macao with Mr. Wetmore. His stay here will however probably be a short one, as Mr. Wetmore will remain some time in Macao and they cannot well both be absent at the same time.

The "Wissahickon," with our friend Robeson Moore, arrived last night, and he came on shore this morning. He has been absent eight months at Bally, Lombeek, & other places. He has encountered a series of adverse circumstances; came near being shipwrecked twice—has been very ill—& to crown all, had a mutiny on board—He looks toil & care-worn, but I trust a few days rest and quiet will restore him. . . . 7th month, 4th day, 30th That evening we proposed going out to see Mrs. Ritchie—but when we arrived there we found her very ill in bed with a violent headache—She had only Portuguese & China women about her and in case of sickness they are of little value. . . . Yesterday morning, I found Mrs. Parker there bathing her head in ice water (what a comfort & luxury this warm weather). Soon Dr. Anderson came in & shaved a place on the back of her head of the size of a dollar and sent his coolie (the good old man) who applied some 17 or 20 leeches there, to her great relief. . . .

Congratulate Sister Lydia for me on the birth of her little daughter. I want very much to write them and hope to soon, but my eyes and fingers sometimes almost ache at the sight of pen and ink. . . .

Yesterday I had a very pleasant call from Mrs. Paiva, a Portuguese lady whom I have before mentioned, I think. She has three children very near the ages of our three eldest,—the oldest boy aged 9—is about going to England for his education—He is to be placed in a Catholic College in Lancashire, where she has a brother, a Jesuit. For her little girl of six, when she becomes a few years older, she intends having a French Governess from one of the Convents in Paris, and the boy of Natty's age, will be sent to England by & by—At present she says she teaches them English, and has them taught Portuguese, arithmetic, writing etc. by a Master, who she says is a Portuguese Gentleman of good family & education, who has become reduced in circumstances, and now teaches 4 or 5 of the principal families, dividing the day between them. . . . I received yesterday from Mrs. Cole (the Missionary lady of whom I have often spoken) a note saying that

they were expecting to leave last evening for Hong Kong to take passage for the North. She feels anxious to reach the place where they expect to be permanently located, as the dialect spoken there is so different from the one in use here, that the study of this will be of but little use to them. I don't know how it is with the written dialect, but the colloquial differs very much in different provinces of the Empire. The Missionaries who came out in the "Horatio" (Bishop Boon & his companions) had a Chinese Teacher on board with them, and studied all the passage out. . . .

I have not told of a gentleman who has been here lately, by the name of Ravac (I believe he is either a German or a Pole) whose performances on the violin are said by those who have heard both to be nearly if not quite equal to those of Ole Bull. He did not give a concert here, but I heard of him as performing in some Portuguese families, and Nathaniel writes me that he has been at their house (W. & Co's) at Canton in company with a Mr. ——— somebody else whose name I have forgotten, who performs wonderfully on the Piano—and my husband says he could not have conceived it possible for the violin to have been made to produce such delicious & powerful music.

(Letter to Her Husband)

Macao July 4th, 1845

How good and kind and excellent Mr. Moore seems. I am rejoiced that he has a good opinion of me, & trust I may not forfeit it. This morning I have been paying the old Comprador for the month's expenses—Mr. W. at first declined to pay him, telling him, so he says, that it was Mr. Kinsman's pigeon & he must wait till he came down—This was rather hard, as the man said he wanted to go home, and the Coolies etc. wanted their money to buy Chow-chow & the Cow-man was impatient for his money some days ago—I would have borrowed the money but for the appearance of the thing, but at the last moment Mr. Wetmore relented, I suppose, & sent Jacob Rogers round with the keys of the treasury & an order for the

money. Jacob said "Mr. W. says he told me to settle with him before, but I am sure I did not understand him so"— & I suspect he did not understand himself so—

Macao 7th Mo. 10th/1845

My beloved Sister—

The fourth of July passed very quietly. There were but few gentlemen in Macao—but we had an extremely pleasant, quiet dinner party in the evening at Mr. Delano's, consisting of Mrs. King, M. and myself, Messrs. Durran, father & son (French Gentleman) & Messrs. Bull, Nye, Peirce & Moore. Mr. Bull is one of the oldest residents remaining in China, having been here some 10 or 12 years—and is a most agreeable and excellent man, esteemed by everyone for his kindness of heart, and real worth. The only other celebration of the occasion was by some rockets & other fire works sent up or from a little vessel in the roads, belonging to Mr. Durran, called the "Sylph," from which during the day, the "Stars & Stripes" waved in union with the Tri-coloured banner. Very pretty, was it not?

I wrote thee by the "Sappho" which sailed on the 25th of last month—& the present opportunity is by the departure of our friends the Delanos—They leave us probably this evening for Calcutta in the "Akbar." Miss Delano has kindly offered to take any letters that we will entrust to her *unsealed*, as otherwise passengers going overland are not permitted to take charge of them, and she will forward them from New York. . . . I have told thee of the arrival of a large number of Missionaries, in previous letters; among the rest of a Miss Gillett of New York—an elderly maiden lady, of about 45—a very nice sort of person, I judge from the little I saw of her, during the few days that they passed in Macao. A week after they left here, we were quite taken by surprise at hearing that Dr. Bridgman & Miss Gillett were *engaged*—and in another week they were *married*, and we were all favoured with a piece of bridal cake—The connection I think a very suitable one, from what I know of the parties concerned, but the haste with which the affair was concluded,

was rather unseemly for persons of their profession. This of course produced quite a sensation in our little community where events are so rare; the happy pair are passing the honeymoon in Canton, and they intend residing there permanently, the lady having relinquished her intention of going to the North, and her attachment to Episcopacy likewise, I presume, as the Dr. is a Presbyterian of the Andover Strict School. . . .

I must tell thee of a very sad event which has occurred in our little circle. We have lost by death another of our best and most valued friends, dear Mrs. Sword. She had a little son born on the 5th of the month. . . . She was never found wanting when there was a call upon her benevolence, kindness & hospitality, & many a stranger in this foreign land has cause gratefully to remember & bless their hospitable roof. . . . On second day last, quite a number of Invalids arrived from Canton. They called their boat the Hospital—and they all, I believe, feel already benefited by the change to the purer air of Macao. . . . Seventh day 26th—It is excessively warm today—We are going to have company at dinner, a few gentlemen Nathaniel wished to invite before leaving. A dinner on a hot day is not the uncomfortable process that it is at home, as the punkah renders one comfortable, even in the warmest weather. The “Midas” came puffing in today. She runs regularly now between Canton & Hong Kong, but pays us only an occasional visit, as there are so few people residing here that it is not worth while they think. . . . Second day 8th—My dear sister—As I mentioned our intended dinner party, I will first inform thee that it passed off very well—and our guests seemed to enjoy themselves. Messrs. Gray & Weston of Boston—Nye, Hillard, Gilman, Story & Buckler composed the party. Thee has sometimes asked me to tell thee what we have for dinner. Well then—on this occasion we had a roasted dindon at one end of the table, and a leg of mutton at the other—with Ham between and some side dishes—I don’t recollect what—(I should have mentioned first—Tomato Soup—and then boiled fish—the “Garupa” very nice), Curried Chickens—Plum pudding of John’s making,

with cold sauce, custards & stewed pears; radishes, cucumbers & onions with crackers & cheese.—Fruit, consisting of pineapple, Whampees, Plantains, & Water Melon. Thee asks me too, to tell thee what I wear sometimes—I wore a thin muslin with a purplish colored stripe, a pattern of which I will send thee if I do not forget it.—I have had several of them made so that I can wear them with short sleeves, the long ones *to be tied* in, I find short ones so comfortable in the evenings, and a Spencer handkerchief of lace or book muslin—high neck'd dresses being almost unwearable in the warmest weather. . . . Thee may like to know that the children dined with us also at a side table, and one of the gentlemen remarked that he had never known children so quiet. Thee was right in supposing that Mr. Rawle had become a member of the House, in place of the lamented Lawrence. The arrangement was made conditionally however—subject to the approval of Wm. S. Wetmore—who *not* approving, his ('Mr. Rawle's) interest in the house has ceased. His wife comes out, however, with this knowledge. We have received today from Wm. Buckler, who sent for it to Hong Kong, a large piece of Ice—from 15 to 20 lbs.—and having obtained a good supply of milk we intend trying to have some Ice Cream. Third day—29th—The ice creams succeeded admirably yesterday, and we enjoyed making them very much. As we feared they might melt before evening, having made them in the forenoon, we concluded to eat them after dinner—so we all gathered round the *tub*, which was brought up & placed on the entry table; my husband, Mary Anne, H. Story, Wm. Buckler, myself & the children. We sent a bowlful in to Wm. Moore . . . The Ice arrived out in excellent order, but we are sorry to hear that it is not likely to remunerate Mr. Bush who ordered it out, which will be a great pity.

I made a pleasant call at Mad. la Grené's the other day, saw herself and her little daughter Huldah—Gabrielle, the elder, was at Mrs. Stewart's who gives her a lesson in English daily—the mother says she has made remarkable progress in acquiring a knowledge of that language. They study German from their Nurse, who is a German,

and a person, Mad. L. says, very superior to her situation. They have an instructor in Music, the same one that the Delanos had, and take lessons from her twice a day, an hour at a time. We hear that Alexander Everett is appointed Minister to China. How pleasant it will be to see him here; I wonder if his wife will accompany him—I hope so most sincerely. . . . Last evening we had a very pleasant walk. At the Point we met Abbott, and multitudes of other children of all ages. . . . Mr. Bull came down the other evening with Dr. Parker (from Canton). He is a great lover of trees & flowers, and has voluntarily taken upon himself the entire care of the “Square” at Canton. . . . Evening of 4th day, 30th. I am so glad *Innis* was not chosen Mayor of Salem. It would have been disgraceful—would it not? and how near you came to having such an infliction. . . . At *Ecca*’s request I have *sung* with her some of her little hymns. Our efforts would have caused anyone to smile I think. She is very happy, yet her life has so little variety and one day is to her so much like another, that she sometimes says it seems to her that she does nothing but get up & go to bed, and she should almost wish she had never been born, if it were not for going to Heaven—and one day she asked Mary Ann if there were any people *born* in Heaven, without first coming into this world,—if there were, she should like to be one of these. Was it not a strange idea for a happy light-hearted child to have? . . . I am so sorry ships have begun to go to Hong-Kong, for we had no difficulty and usually no delay in obtaining our letters etc. when the ships came here first, now of course there is more delay—Macao is becoming gradually more and more a mere sort of watering place, and pleasant retreat—owing entirely to the short sighted policy of the Portuguese, which first drove the English to H. Kong. . . . 3rd day, 7th Mo. 5th—Monthly & Quarterly Meetings at Lynn are approaching—how much I should like to be with you. This has been a busy morning—Washman’s day—we sent 150 or 160 pieces. We have a separate washman for table linen, etc., as the one who formerly did that sort of washing, when we arrived, still continues—so that this number of pieces

does not include those articles—children's dresses, 26!! . . . Have I told thee that the beautiful nightblooming *Cereus* has commenced its visits to us again—it blooms once a month, three or four evenings in succession, and the last time the flowers were so high on the wall that it was impossible to reach them without a ladder, which we did not possess. But Mrs. King sent a Coolie, with a long ladder, and we had no small amusement in seeing him climb with lanthorn in one hand & knife in the other to reach the treasures. . . .

Mons. de la Ferrière, who went to France with the treaty, has returned with its ratification, and many flattering & complimentary letters to Mons. de L. from his Government at home—all very pleasant this of course. . . . I have not told thee of a beautiful Silver tea set, which my husband brought me from Canton—Tea-pot, sugar bowl & cream pitcher—I hope we shall take it home with us. . . . In all my messages of remembrance, my husband would join me. To my beloved Parents, it seems almost a *ceremony* to send a message of love, so well do they know my affection for them, yet as a kind message is always acceptable—please assure them renewedly how much I love them and how earnestly I desire for them all *spiritual* as well as *temporal* blessings.

Macao—7th Mo. 17th 1845. First day.

My dear and darling Sister—

. . . The new steam arrangement is at length carried into effect, and the first of the Steamers, the “Lady Mary Wood” arrived at Hong Kong on the 13th of this month, bringing dates from England to the fifth of June, and from America to the first of June . . . It was only 74 days from the time thy letter was dated to its arrival at Hong Kong—how very short, was it not?

Macao 8th Mo. 29th 1845

Mr. and Mrs. King left for Hong Kong to take passage in the Steamer. We shall miss Mrs. King exceedingly—her husband is very ill—Thus our little circle is diminishing one by one. She leaves her little boy of eight months

old to go home in the "Huntress." She has a kind-hearted but awkward Irish woman to take charge of him. Mrs. Lovett (of the "Huntress") seems to be one of the most amiable and kind hearted of women, and will take every possible care of the dear little thing, I am sure—but she feels it, as well she may, to be a very great responsibility. I don't know *how* Mrs. King *could* leave it. Seventh day morning 8th Mo. 30th. Only think! Another month nearly gone. June flies by here at railroad speed, & scarce leaves any traces behind. This morning we have a pouring rain and cool air. Ecce is lying or lounging on the couch in my room dressing one of her dolls. Natty watching John, in the entry (one end of which is used by John as a pantry) making a pudding for dinner. Ammah is singing Baby to sleep in the next room—I sitting at my desk, and I believe M. is similarly employed in her room. So thee can picture us all in thy mind's eye—well—and as happy as we can be so far from you all, and in the absence of my dear husband. . . . We have a box of Gibraltars sent out by Mrs. Brown in the "Natchez"—, which has been in Canton for several weeks, and has not been sent down—I long to taste them. . . . I think it will not be advisable in future to send home Silks; I knew before that the duties on China Silks were heavy, as they are regulated by their weight. Oh! how much patience it requires to wait for those tardy, slow motioned vessels. I intend, now that the Steamers have commenced their regular trips, to write very often Overland, and hope thee will do the same. The rice paper pictures, I will endeavor to obtain for thee at some future time. . . . Our cook understands baking very well—but if thee could see the miserable apparatus for cooking, thee could not suppose that anything decent could be produced. A sort of rough bake kettle is the only oven, with a similar one for a cover, except that the cover has a bale (?) or handle, while the *oven* itself is a mere iron pan; the cover is the largest, and goes *over* the other, resting on the hearth. . . . After breakfast Joanna came in and I finished cutting out some work which she wished to take home for me. (The Portuguese Ayahs sew with

exquisite neatness, but it takes them a long time to accomplish a piece of work, as they are rather lazy.) . . .

Then came the Comprador to settle his month's account, this being "No. 1 day of a new moon"—I always dread this, as we *must* of necessity scold a little—however I got on pretty well, and a threatened *cut* of ten dollars in his "*counter*" was withdrawn, & the offence for which it was intended as a punishment, forgiven, and professions of sorrow, and promises of the like offence never being repeated. This was a midnight feast, held by the whole household below stairs, the night after my husband's departure for Canton, by way as they said of "Chinchinning departed friends," this "being a custom once a year." They made a great noise and kept me awake most of the night, and when I went out onto the Verandah to order silence (they were on the under or lower verandah) the Comprador made his appearance, but too much intoxicated to speak, of course incapable of enforcing my commands—but I suspect there is no fear of a similar occurrence in future. . . . Should thee like to know our "Avoirdupois"—I weigh 132 lbs.! M. 98—Ecca 44, Natty 37½; and Baby 28! Mr. Gilman came in by previous engagement to weigh us. . . . The Steamer "Edith" came in this morning, having had a very short passage from Bombay. She came in under a full press of canvass & steaming beside, and looked beautifully. . . . I just met one of the Coolies—Ahhow—the one who goes with Ammah to assist in carrying baby—he had Abbot in his arms, and I said—"Coolie, you thinky baby handsome—(or rather hansum)" he said—"My thinky Baby too muchy hansum—my likey China baby no hansum—this baby hansum." I believe they consider a fair complexion a mark of beauty, and in this respect allow that foreigners possess more personal beauty than themselves. This Coolie has a simple, good-natured face & a large mouthful of splendid teeth—Baby is very fond of him—he is the only one of the Coolies who likes to go out with him, tho' the servants are all very fond of taking him & playing with him. The same Coolie has just come in & I said to him—"You have go talky Misser Simeons go Cussom house" (Mr. Simeons is a

Portuguese clerk, formerly in W. & Co's office, whom we always send for when we have any Custom House business.) He says—"No—my no go—my thinky nother piece Coolie have go"—I must inquire.

Macao 10th Mo. 4th 1845 Seventh Day

My dearly beloved Sister—

It is now about six o'clock in the evening of a cold blustering day—A strong East wind has been blowing all day, and the surf is consequently high & noisy. . . . Mrs. Parker still remains with Mrs. Sword's children, and will I presume continue to do so for two or three months longer. It is undoubtedly a great sacrifice for herself and Dr. Parker to make, for her to remain away from him so long, as he is very lonely in her absence. . . . The "Douglas" spoke the U. S. Ship "Columbus" with Mr. & Mrs. Everett on board, this side the Cape of Good Hope, so they may be daily expected. I told Mr. Forbes (who thee perhaps knows is U. S. Consul at Canton) that he ought to be here to receive Mr. Everett—& if they arrive within a few days he probably will. Mr. Wetmore has gone North in the "Montauk."

Macao Fourth day 10th Mo. 15th, 1845

It is now morning after breakfast. The Comprador has been to receive directions for dinner, and then requested leave to go home, as he says he is sick, and wishes to see the Doctor. While at breakfast, we observed that this individual was more than usually attentive (being very lazy, he generally leaves everything to the *boys*, contenting himself with stalking majestically once or twice across the dining-room, during the breakfast & dinner hour, taking something from the sideboard, etc.) and Horace Story remarked that he thought there must be something in prospect—some favor to ask.

Mrs. Rawle and Mary called here with Mr. Ritchie. Mrs. R. is very gentle & lady-like, dresses very much, but very elegantly also. I was surprised at this, as I supposed she retained somewhat of her Friendliness, her husband having told me they were married in meeting. She

expresses her attachment still to the Society, but says she was disowned by being present at the marriage of one of her daughters, and afterward left the meeting and attended on the Episcopal Service. . . . After dinner we all went out for a walk—the day was a glorious one. There is no twilight now—evening follows close upon the decline of day, but a full moon renders the light quite as pleasant. . . . Mrs. Drinker has for sale some beautiful crewel socks—chair tidies, worsted lamp mats, etc. which she brought out as an adventure for an old lady who depends on her knitting for a livelihood. I don't know how she intends to invest the proceeds. . . . As I listened last evening to Mrs. D's accounts of her family & children, it seemed to me that her home must be more of an earthly paradise than any place I had imagined for a long time—so much *love*—with elegance & ease—and the thought intruded why so much difference in the earthly portion of those, who are all children of the same Father? Not that I compared it with my own situation—for my lot is a very happy one, far, far happier than I deserve. . . . I was very much interested in thy account of Philadelphia yearly meeting and truly sorry to hear of its divided state. . . .

Macao first day Eve'g.
10th Mo. 26th/45

Dearest Sister—

By some careless packing in the mail box (Overland mail), the letters & papers were so much injured, that the writing in many instances, was entirely obliterated. . . . Mrs. Ritchie received one of which the only words she could make out were “from your affectionate Aunt.” . . . Is it not trying? The letters appear to have been wet, & rubbed—and it is said to have been done in crossing the desert on the Camels' backs. . . . Our diminished little circle has received some delightful additions by the arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Delano, who came on in the last steamer from Singapore, where they have spent three months very pleasantly, & Mrs. Delano has come back with rosy cheeks & looking, if possible, more lovely than ever. Dora went home from Singapore with her brother

Edward—his health was very delicate. She wrote—as soon as possible after her return, she shall go to Salem to see our friends. The “Geneva” has arrived bringing delightful people—also Mrs. Drinker, wife of the Captain. . . . Captain Drinker thinks of going to Manila & has invited us all to go with him. The trip would be a delightful one, but as Nathaniel cannot go, he does not feel willing to trust us without him. Mr. Delano too, invites us to accompany them to Canton in the Steamer, either the “Edith” or the “Midas,” which he will *obtain* to take up his family, but I doubt if we accept either invitation, though both are delightful plans. Thee will naturally wonder why *we* do not go to Canton also. This I cannot explain to thee now & here, but will do so in a private note hereafter. I am enjoying my dear husband’s visit very much. . . . Thank dear Father for his good kind letter by the “Heber” (?) also brother Wm., M. Foote, Sister Anne, & Sophronia Page. I hope to write them all by the “Inca” to sail about the 10th of November. . . . And now I must say farewell. With dearest love to all my beloved friends—To my dear Father & Mother first of all, brothers & Sisters, Mother Kinsman, Sister Mary & Family, brothers, sisters, cousins & friends. Trusting that this may find thee & all of you well & happy as it leaves us, & with earnest prayers for your & our preservation—I am as ever

Thy very affectionate sister
Rebecca

(*To be continued*)

REVOLUTIONARY ARMS AND EQUIPMENT IN THE ESSEX INSTITUTE COLLECTION

By RICHARD KIMBALL SPRAGUE
Co-Curator of Arms

One of the most interesting periods as far as arms and equipment go is that of the American Revolution. We are indeed fortunate to have so many fine and historical pieces in the Essex Institute collection that I would like to describe some of them briefly.

Our collection includes two pieces of headgear from the Revolution that are the only known specimens in existence today. There well may be others, but the author has heard from reliable sources that these are the only ones of their kind to have survived. The first is a leather helmet worn by Captain Michael Titcomb in the Washington Life Guards. It is made of black leather and is somewhat similar to the helmets worn by the dragoons of this period. Although leather tends to dry and crack with age this helmet is still in good condition and still has part of its horsehair crest remaining. The second piece of headgear is a Hessian brass cap worn by a soldier of the Fusileer Regiment Alt Von Lossberg Hesse-Cassel. This regiment along with the Von Rall and the Knyphausen regiments were the three captured by General Washington at the Battle of Trenton. This hat is typical of those worn by the Hessians and has the large brass plate in front. Both of these specimens are extremely interesting and historians have come to Salem many times to inspect these first hand.

Perhaps the most colorful name ever used for a firearm is the "Brown Bess." It is most commonly applied to the British musket of the Revolution, although it actually stems from Queen Elizabeth who was the first to have musket barrels browned to prevent rusting. As the Colonies were part of England the local militia companies were free to draw arms from the government supplies, thus the "Brown Bess" of the Revolution saw service on

both sides during the war. Once it is seen the British musket of this period can never again be mistaken for any other arm. Its characteristics are very distinctive. In the first place the barrel is not held to the stock by barrel bands but by sliding pins which go into the stock and into lugs under the barrel. Then too these muskets have marks on the locks such as "Tower," "Dublin Castle," or occasionally a private maker's name. Most important of all they have the broad arrow mark on the lock plate under the flash pan denoting government ownership. To briefly describe this further the barrels of these British muskets were 42 inches long, although earlier 46 inch barrel muskets were still being used at the time of the Revolution. The officers carried much shorter and lighter guns with barrels being approximately 36 inches long or so. Even general officers had a musket in those days.

In the Essex Institute collection is a very fine example of the officer's type "Brown Bess" musket carried by Robert Peele of Salem at the Battle of Lexington. In fact seldom is a musket of this age found in such fine condition today. It was made by Adams, a London gunsmith operating from 1770 to 1780. Another short officer's musket in the collection was made by R. Wilson who made guns in London from 1730 to 1780 and was carried throughout the war by the Rev. John Treadwell of Lynn.

A spontoon is a short pike-like piece generally carried as a badge of rank by subaltern officers. One of these in our collection was carried by Colonel Thomas Gilbert who served as an aid to General Artemas Ward. It is a rather graceful specimen and has a small triangular head as compared with others of this period which were much larger. This is quite a rarity too, as most of the spontoons coming down to us today have long since been separated from their shafts.

A rather recent gift to the museum is a grenadier musket of the Hessians complete with bayonet. These muskets of the German mercenaries were of many types, although they followed two basic patterns, one the pinned variety like the British and the other with barrel bands

holding the barrel to the stock. As Germany of this day was really a series of tiny states, these muskets came from a number of armories. Then too many were probably purchased from Frederick the Great.

The author has one in his collection with a very high comb to the butt stock, and this, like the one in the Essex Institute collection, no doubt saw service in Europe for the thirty or forty years previous to its coming to America. They both have brass bands holding the barrel to the stock, and they may well have been picked up at Trenton. Old prints depicting this battle often show the Hessian carrying muskets of this sort.

As colorful an edge weapon as can be imagined comes down to us from the Revolution. It is the colichemarde or a small sword type. It is extremely graceful and has an engraved triangular blade ending in a sharp point. This sword was the side arm of gentlemen of the period, and many officers carried these throughout the war. In fact we are fortunate in our collection to have several swords of this kind. One in particular is of special historical interest, as it was carried at the Battle of Bunker Hill by Lt. Timothy Walton of Salem. Another which saw war service was carried by Major Reuben Read. These are beautiful pieces and much sought after today by collectors of our early swords.

About a year or so ago we set up a special exhibit in the museum on the equipment of the Revolutionary soldier. It may not be absolutely complete, yet on the other hand we have assembled a fairly representative collection of pieces used by the soldier during the war.

One of the muskets in the above exhibit is the French Musket Model 1763. This musket undoubtedly had a tremendous share in our winning the war as well as later being the pattern for our first U. S. musket model, the U. S. Musket Model 1795. In fact in its day it was the finest military musket known. France, after the Battle of Saratoga, openly helped the American cause and sent over to us over 100,000 stand of arms, the bulk of which were the Musket Model 1763. These were manufactured in the four great French armories of Maubeuge, Tulle,

St. Etienne, and Charleville, although most of these coming over here were made at the latter. These muskets are known to collectors today as "Charleville Muskets." Lafayette, too, brought a number of these over with him when he came so often they are called "Lafayette Muskets" in his honor. No doubt most of these saw war service, but when marked with a "U. S." mark, it is almost a certainty, as General Washington decreed in the spring of 1777 that all Continental arms were to have this mark. This mark is to be found on our specimen on the lock plate, although also it is often found on the barrel or barrel tang as well. This musket differs from the British in that it has the barrel held to the stock by iron barrel bands. This makes for an ever so much sturdier piece. It is lighter too and has a more modern appearance. It is an historic arm and rightfully deserves its place among America's "Guns of Glory."

Another fine musket in the exhibit is a British musket marked on the lock plate "Jordon" (Jordon). This is somewhat different a piece than the "Brown Bess" but has the same general characteristics with the pinned on stock, etc. As this specimen has the 46 inch barrel and as Jordon made guns in London from 1740 to 1760, this musket could easily have seen action in the French and Indian War also. It was probably issued to an American soldier early in the Revolution, as the brass escutcheon plate on the wrist of the butt stock has the marks "M. W. 1776." This musket is in such good condition that we recently loaned it out so that it could be copied in a mural painted in Providence.

The saber as carried by the troopers under Colonels William Washington and "Light Horse" Harry Lee in such engagements as the Cowpens and Guilford Court House is of great interest to military students. The one in our exhibit is a typical specimen, although they all differed slightly, particularly in the guard. Some of them have iron stirrup shape guards while others, like our specimen, have a brass guard or knuckle bow that end in pierced holes. However, the blade on all these sabers is very similar. It is slightly curved and about 34 inches

long. The inside edge of these blades has three grooves or fullers as they are called, and as a rule where these are found well rusted with age, these grooves are the telltale sign of their true identity.

Our exhibit lacks some things from this very interesting period in our history. However, the above along with an early cartridge box, a pair of brass banded flintlock pistols, an early engraved powder horn dated Aug. 23, 1775, a bullet mould for the French Musket Model 1763, a pair of drum sticks carried in the war, not to mention a black tricon, make the exhibit a well rounded one and give the visitor to the museum a fairly good idea of what our ancestors carried against the British. We, as curators of arms feel that we are extremely lucky to have had so many historical pieces given to us down through the years. We trust that we can add to this collection occasionally and that we can keep it up as it has been in the past.



THE FRIGATE "ESSEX"

From the only known painting of the "Essex" by Joseph Howard, in the Peabody Museum, Salem

THE CAREER OF THE FRIGATE ESSEX

By CHARLES C. BASSETT

(Continued from Volume LXXXVII, page 40)

After the Barbary Wars the *Essex* was put in ordinary from May 1807 until 1 December 1808,⁸¹ while Jefferson pursued an embargo policy. Naval Constructor Josiah Fox reported to Captain Tingly on 12 November 1807, that the *Essex* was undergoing thorough repairs. Her bottom had been almost completely repaired and coppered, and he felt she could be ready for service by the spring.⁸² She was again commissioned in May 1809 under act of 31 January 1809 as it became apparent that the embargo was futile. The embargo itself was repealed on 1 March 1809. The *Essex* made one foreign voyage under Captain John Smith in the winter of 1810-1811, but other-

Note 80 continued

- 2 July Master Commandant Stewart took command.
 - Sailed to Tunis Bay in company with the squadron 14 July.
 - Arrived Malta 16 July.
 - Sailed 24 July.
 - Arrived off Tunis 1 August.
- On 22 August Captain Campbell received command from Master Commandant Stewart.
 - Sailed from Tunis 5 September.
 - Arrived Gibraltar 15 September.
 - Arrived Tangiers 26 September.
 - Stayed at Gibraltar 30 September to 10 October.
 - Passed off Algeiras and arrived Malaga 18 October
 - Sailed 4 December.
 - Arrived Cadiz 14 December.
 - Arrived Gibraltar 12 January, 1806; and Algeiras 28 January.
 - Arrived Malaya 1 February; Algeiras 27 February and Cadiz 5 March.
 - Sailed on 9 March and arrived Gibraltar 14 March.
 - Stayed off Tangier and Algeiras until 24 April.
 - Went to Cadiz and sailed 16 May.
- Captain Campbell exchanged ships with Captain Rodgers of the *Constitution*.
 - Sailed from Gibraltar 4 June 1806 and arrived off the Capes 25 July.
 - Arrived at Washington 28 July 1806.

Knox, *Barbary Wars*, V, 11; VI, 36, 37, 56.

81 Preble, *Essex*, p. 19.

82 Knox, *Barbary Wars*, VI; 579.

wise she was with the coastal squadron until the War of 1812.⁸³

FIRST CAPTURE OF A BRITISH SHIP OF WAR
IN THE WAR OF 1812

The factors leading up to the War of 1812 are complex, and there are several views as to the real causes. It is not my purpose in this essay to attempt an adjudication of the controversy,⁸⁴ but certain general facts can be stated. In the context of naval history it is, perhaps, especially justifiable to emphasize the maritime or commercial factors. The embargo was repealed by Jefferson on 1 March 1809 after considerable bitterness had been aroused in the maritime areas of New England which had borne the brunt of the complete stoppage of all overseas trade. The Non-Intercourse Act which refused trade with both Britain and France was still on the books. The Jeffersonian attempts at isolation had proved useless and caused considerable distress. So, finally on 1 May 1810 Congress passed the so-called Macon's Bill No. 2, restoring commercial intercourse with both Britain and France and offering the first power which recognized neutral rights the bait of refusing to trade with the other if it still refused to recognize neutral rights. It was the last clause which was to cause difficulties and push us into war. Both the British and French had been violating neutral rights equally, but Napoleon took advantage of this opportunity to win the government of the United States to his side. He notified President Madison in a rather equivocally worded note that the Berlin and Milan decrees, which had authorized the seizing of American ships in French ports and other violations of our neutrality, were revoked as of 1 November. Madison did not see the trap and by a proclamation on 2 November said that in three months time non-intercourse would be revived against Great Britain if she did not repeal the Orders in Council concerning contraband goods and seiz-

⁸³ Preble, *Essex*, p. 19.

⁸⁴ See Julius W. Pratt, *Expansionists of 1812*, (Macmillan 1925), Warren H. Goodman, "The Origins of the War of 1812," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 1941-1942, 171.

ing of American ships. Great Britain took no action so non-intercourse went into effect on 11 February 1811. Meanwhile new congressional elections were held and the so-called "war hawks" led by Henry Clay became extremely powerful in Congress. They looked to the conquest of Canada and the acquisition of more lands. They persuaded Madison that war was necessary so on 1 June he asked Congress for a declaration of war against Great Britain on the grounds of impressment, violations of the three-mile limit, paper blockades, and Orders in Council.⁸⁵ War was declared on 18 June 1812 with the westerners and southerners voting for it, and the maritime areas generally against it.⁸⁶ Another paradox was that the British, who were really suffering under the new embargo, had repealed their Orders in Council on 16 June 1812, but the news, of course, did not arrive in time to stop the war. Thus the war theoretically for sailors rights, but more probably due to western expansions started, and it lasted until 1 December of 1814 with neither side gaining anything.

David Porter was given the command of the *Essex* in August of the summer before the war began even though he did not attain the rank of Captain until 17 July 1812. When he went aboard the *Essex* he took David Farragut, who was just ten years old, along with him as a Midshipman. Farragut reports in his journal that the *Essex*, which was part of the coast squadron under Commodore Rodgers, was the "smartest" in the squadron and that Porter was complimented highly by Commodore Rodgers. The crew was so well trained that they were able to be divided into three watches, and that arrangement was carried on until the ship was captured. On Christmas day, 1811, one unfortunate incident occurred when the *Essex* dragged anchor and was blown aground off Newport, Rhode Island during a northeaster. Due to the wind, and the weight of the ice forming on the rigging and masts

85 Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steel Commager, *The Growth of the American Republic*, (Oxford University Press, 1942), I, 408-415.

86 Captain Dudley W. Knox, *A History of the United States Navy*, (New York, 1936), p. 82.

from the sleet, she almost heeled over. The crew was all set to cut her masts down when the storm abated, so all that was lost was her main and mizzen topgallant masts which were blown away.⁸⁷

No other notable incident occurred until the unnecessary war with England started which found the *Essex* lying at New York. She was ready for sea three weeks after the declaration of war. Only one of her crew refused to serve against the British, and he claimed that he was a British citizen. When it was learned that he was actually an American the crew tarred and feathered him before releasing him.

On 11 July off Bermuda Captain Porter fell in with a British transport convoy escorted by the *Minerva*, 32 guns, and by night cut out and captured a brig with a hundred and fifty troops aboard. The captured British officers were anxious to see a fight between the *Essex* and the *Minerva*, and Captain Porter viewed the idea favorably. He stood toward the convoy hoping the *Minerva* would come out to fight a single ship action, but much to the amazement of the British prisoners, the *Minerva* refused to leave the protecting guns of the convoy. It was futile for the *Essex* to try to attack her while in the convoy so there was no battle.⁸⁸

A few days later on 13 August 1812, the *Essex*, disguised as a merchant ship and flying the British flag, fell in with the sloop of war *Alert*, Captain Langhorne, mounting eighteen 32 pound carronades and two long 12 pounders, manned by 38 men.⁸⁹ Upon sighting the *Alert* to the windward Captain Porter ordered full sail and then put drags out astern to slow the ship down. This move led Captain Langhorne to believe she was trying to escape so he pursued her. The crew of the *Essex* went to quarters and all was ready for action except the opening of the gun ports. The *Alert* caught up with the *Essex* and fired a gun to bring her to. When she hove to the *Alert* passed under her stern and at this point the

87 Loyall Farragut, *The Life of David Glasgow Farragut*, embodying his journal and letters, (New York, 1879), p. 13.

88 L. Farragut, *Life of Farragut*, p. 15.

89 Preble, *Essex*, p. 22.

British colors were hauled down and the American ensign run up. The British gave three cheers and fired a broadside of grape and canister, but the *Alert* was too far abaft the beam to have the shot enter the *Essex's* ports so it bounced harmlessly off her hull. Captain Porter had the helm put over and gave the British a broadside with the tampions still in the guns. It was too late for the British to escape and eight minutes later the *Essex* was alongside, at which point the British struck their colors. This was the first vessel of war taken from the British, and even though it was an unequal contest the news stirred the country.⁹⁰

After the capture of the *Alert* an incident happened which illustrates the type of discipline and training that Captain Porter had aboard his ship. Captain Porter had the habit of calling frequent fire drills to test the nerves of the crew and to prepare them for emergencies. Every man was supposed to get to quarters as fast as he could with his cutlass and blanket when the cry "fire" was passed. One night when the ship was crowded with prisoners, a coxswain of the *Alert* planned a mutiny of the prisoners. When young Farragut awakened and saw the man standing by his hammock with a pistol, he realized something was wrong and remained motionless until the man passed. Then he ran and told Captain Porter what he had seen. Porter rushed out of his cabin crying "Fire! Fire!" Farragut reported that the effect was wonderful. The mutineers did not realize what was happening until the crew was at quarters and the boarders were ordered to seize them.⁹¹ Thus the tested discipline of the *Essex's* crew saved them from a bloody mutiny.

Early in September the *Essex* arrived back off New York where she eluded a British squadron, consisting of the frigates *Acosta* and *Shannon*, and the brig *Ringdove*, which tried to decoy Captain Porter to come within gun shot. They put on a sham fight, but Captain Porter, who was aloft, saw the trick and put on full sail to get away. The British pursued and the *Acosta* was so near by night-

90 L. Farragut, *Life of Farragut*, pp. 15, 16.

91 *Ibid.*, pp. 16, 17.

fall that Captain Porter tacked the ship to attack her signally at night. However, the night was so dark and the rain so heavy that the two ships passed in the dark without seeing each other. Farragut noted that it was an act of Providence that the two ships did not collide at night as much damage would have been done to both vessels and many lives lost in a useless fight.⁹² The *Essex* then proceeded to the Delaware River to replenish her water and stores. She arrived there on 3 September⁹³ after having captured a total of ten prizes on her first cruise in the War of 1812.⁹⁴ During the following six weeks she was fitted out for what was to be her final voyage under American colors.

LAST CRUISE OF THE *Essex*

The *Essex* sailed on her final voyage 28 October 1812 from the Delaware River to join Commodore Bainbridge's squadron. According to Captain Porter's orders which he received on 6 October 1812,⁹⁵ the *Essex* was to rendezvous first at Porto Praya and secondly at Fernando Noronha, Brazil. Other places of rendezvous were also designated and he was further instructed to cruise in the track of the British *Indiamen* for a specified time and if he failed to fall in with his superior officer he was at liberty to act according to his own discretion.⁹⁶ As he failed to join the squadron Captain Porter made use of this last provision on 26 January 1813 when he set sail from St. Catherine, near Brazil, for a raid into the Pacific. According to Captain Porter's *Journal* he had already mentioned this plan to the Secretary of the Navy and to Commodore Bainbridge prior to the declaration of war, and both of them thought it a good one although no official action was taken. The season was late, but due to news of the capture of the *Hornet* and other reports, Captain Porter saw his course lay between attempting this bold expedition and possible capture or blockade.⁹⁷ The supply situation

92 *Ibid.*, pp. 17, 18.

93 Preble, *Essex*, p. 22.

94 Knox, *History of the United States Navy*, p. 84.

95 Porter, *Journal*, I, 2.

96 L. Farragut, *Life of Farragut*, p. 19.

97 G. Preble, *Essex*, p. 18.

would be poor, but Captain Porter planned to live off his captures in the Pacific and make use of neutral ports in Chile. Originally, he planned to use Port Conception as a base of supplies, but as it turned out Valparaiso was used generally. The audacity of such an expedition was even greater when it is remembered that the *Essex* had not been coppered, which made her slower, or had any major repairs for five years. She was fourteen years old when she started her voyage around the Horn, the first American warship to do so.

The voyage around the Horn was marked by one very heavy storm which Captain Porter said was the worst he had ever experienced. The storm struck the end of February and continued through 3 March when the *Essex* had passed 80° W. and was off Patagonia. It blew from the west so there was great danger of being blown ashore and of such intensity that the *Essex* was enabled to wear only once. Then on 3 March a tremendous sea broke over the ship which burst the gun-deck ports, stove in the boats on the quarter deck and did other damage. The water burst through the port gun ports flooding the 'tween deck area thus causing a tremendous amount of free-surface which is a major element in decreasing the stability of a ship. For a moment the crew was badly upset. Captain Porter said that only by the action of the men at the wheel and a few others was the ship saved after the first shock.⁹⁸ Admiral David Farragut, who was serving aboard the *Essex* as a Midshipman, in his journal says in commenting on the storm, "This was the only instance in which I ever saw a regular good seaman paralyzed by fear at the dangers of the sea."⁹⁹ He reported that William Kingsbury, the boatswain's mate, rallied the crew when he told them, "Damn their eyes, to put their best foot forward as there was one side of her left yet."¹⁰⁰ After this terrible sea struck the *Essex*, many of the marines and sailors were so terrified that they were seen on their knees in prayer. Then under the leadership of the

98 Porter, *Journal*, I, 86-87.

99 L. Farragut, *Life of Farragut*, p. 20.

100 *Ibid.*

Captain, First Lieutenant, and officers of the watch the tars succeeded in getting the ship before the wind and secure again. The storm subsided late on 3 March, and it is to the credit of the builders that the *Essex* stood such a test as she underwent.

On 6 March, the *Essex* anchored at the Island of Mocha, off Chile, where the crew killed some wild hogs and horses for food. Unfortunately one man was killed accidentally while on the hunting expedition. After taking on supplies, the *Essex* sailed for Valparaiso. She looked into the port on 13 March while flying the British flag, but as there was a British whaler and several Spanish ships at anchor Captain Porter decided to leave for a couple of days in the hope of capturing the British whaler after she came out. Another reason for leaving was that Captain Porter did not want the Spanish ships, which were about to sail, to learn of the presence of an American Frigate and spread the news.¹⁰¹ Farragut reports that the Captain called the men aft at this time and made a speech showing the advantage of abstaining from the pleasures of being in port, and that they might enjoy themselves more in the future. The speech brought a burst of applause and a determination to abide by his will.¹⁰² This illustrates the loyalty that Captain Porter demanded and received from his men. On 15 March 1831, Porter returned and was well received at Valparaiso by the authorities which was the reason he decided to use Valparaiso generally as a supply base.

The raids on enemy shipping began after the *Essex* was provisioned. She was also needed to protect our own whalers after Chile had declared her independence from Spain with our blessings. The Spanish Viceroy of Peru sent out cruisers against American shipping in retaliation. The Peruvian corsairs coupled with British whalers who held letters of Marque were doing serious damage. The first capture was made by the *Essex* on 25 March. It proved to be the Peruvian schooner *Mereyda* which had previously captured two American whalers and had their

101 Porter, *Journal*, I, 101.

102 L. Farragut, *Life of Farragut*, p. 21.

captains, Gardner and West, aboard. From these men, Captain Porter learned that there were on the coast of Peru and Chile twenty-three American ships and ten British ships that they knew of. Thus Porter had a large group of American ships to protect, and about four million dollars worth of British property exposed to him for seizure.¹⁰³

While cruising among the Galapagos Islands the *Essex* captured the *Georgianna* and two smaller British whalers on 29 March. As the *Georgianna* was fairly well built Captain Porter ordered her to be equipped as a cruiser; and Lieutenant Downes was placed in command. The work of outfitting her was completed by 8 May when she hoisted the American colors and fired a salute of seventeen guns. Porter's squadron of two vessels, the *Essex* and the *Georgianna*, did very well. The *Atlantic* was captured on 25 May. She proved to be superior to the *Georgianna* as a sailing ship so after 25 June the armament of the *Georgianna* was shifted to the *Atlantic* in the Bay of Guayaguie. In her brief tour of duty the *Georgianna* had managed to take three prizes by herself. By the time Captain Porter was ready to sail from the Bay of Guayaguie he was extremely short of men to man his prizes and so short of officers that Midshipman Farragut, age twelve, was sent as prize-master of the whale ship *Barclay*.¹⁰⁴

The incident of giving responsibility to one so young as Farragut shows that Captain Porter had faith that his men would obey an officer appointed by him. Farragut had orders to proceed with the other prizes, escorted by the *Essex Junior*, which the *Atlantic* had been renamed. The captain of the *Barclay* was to do the actual navigating and Farragut was to control the men sent from the *Essex*. The captain of the *Barclay*, on being given orders to sail refused and said that he would shoot any man who dared touch a rope without his orders. Farragut immediately warned him that if he came topside with his pistols he was going overboard.¹⁰⁵ Farragut then took

103 Porter, *Journal*, I, 119-123.

104 L. Farragut, *Life of Farragut*, p. 22-26.

105 *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.

complete charge of the ship and got underway with the fleet. He sailed her all the way to Valparaiso in company with the rest of the prizes. Thus the first admiral of the United States Navy obtained his first command. Under Captain Porter, Farragut had been well disciplined and fitted for the responsibility he assumed.

Finally, after six months of cruising around the Galapagos with many captures, the *Essex* was in need of repair. Her seams needed caulking, her bottom needed scraping and coppering, and the rat situation was bad. Therefore, Captain Porter decided to proceed three thousand miles southwestward to the Marquesas Islands. The passage across was one of uniform good weather and no unusual events occurred. On 23 October a landfall was made off what was supposed to be Hood's Island. Porter then sailed to the northwestward and after some investigation put into Massachusetts Bay, Madison Island, in the Washington group.

Here he found the natives friendly, but they were being attacked by a hostile tribe called the Hoppahs. Captain Porter took advantage of this to establish friendly relations with Gottanewa, chief of the natives at Massachusetts Bay and warned the Hoppahs if they attacked he would use force. Finally after sending a gun ashore and mounting it on one of the hills near Massachusetts Bay on 29 October the Hoppahs were driven from the nearby hills. To end the affair, a detachment took the Hoppah stronghold where at least five Hoppahs were killed. Peace was then made. It is of interest to note that this was one of the bloodiest battles Gottanewa remembered, and illustrates the damage that white men did upon entering these South Sea Islands. All told, there were 19,200 men in the island at the time Porter arrived there¹⁰⁶ and the superiority given by modern arms overawed them.

In Captain Porter's *Journal* there is an excellent description of the customs, traditions, and life of these South Sea islanders. It is especially valuable since the natives had only on a few occasions been in contact with the whites and hence had not been corrupted or exposed to

106 Porter, *Journal*, II, 53.

white man's diseases. The traditions of the islanders were still maintained, and Captain Porter was able to find out and consider evidence of archeological interest as to where the natives believed they came from and how they migrated. At this point I would like to assemble the general facts and stories that Captain Porter tells of the migratory habits of the natives of Madison Island.

According to the accounts of Gattanewa; Oataia and Ovanova, his wife, came from an island called Vavao, (somewhere below Madison Island) and they brought with them some plants. Their descendants supposedly peopled the island. Now among the Friendly Islands there is an island called Vavao which produces the same sort of produce as Madison Island or as the natives call it Novaheevah. Madison Island is located about 140° W and $8^{\circ} 55'$ S. The Friendly Islands are about thirty-five degrees to the westward. Thus this journey was over two thousand miles and was made in what were called double canoes. These canoes are made of many pieces fitted together to make a canoe over fifty feet in length. Some of them are as wide as six feet and six feet deep. For searching for new lands, two canoes were secured together by beams lashed across. A triangular sail, made of a matt similar to shoulder-of-mutton sail, is used. It is placed in an inverted position and the hypotenuse forms the foot of the sail, to which the boom is secured. Paddles are used in calm weather to work the canoes. According to a Britisher found in the Marquesas, while he was there, over eight hundred men, women and children had left in search of other lands and only in one instance had they been heard of again. Therefore, it was a customary practice for these people to migrate to new lands across the seas. Porter says that one whole tribe almost left during one of the wars.

Now to get back to the actual movement of Oataia from Vavao to Novaheevah. In 1812 it was believed that the winds generally blew from the eastward which would make it impossible to get so far to the windward in such a rig. However, Captain Porter maintains that this was not the case and that the winds, sometimes for several days, blew

from the northwest as well as from the southwest which removes the difficulty of getting from the leeward to the windward islands and makes possible the westward expansion. Captain Porter records that he made, after leaving the Washington Islands, nine degrees of longitude easterly in three days with N.N.E. to N.W. winds. Thus in twelve days he could have made the passage from the Friendly Islands to the Washington Islands.¹⁰⁷ So it is possible that Oataia could have come from Vavao as he had places to stop and could have made use of several different times when the wind was from the N.W.

Captain Porter on 19 November 1813, took possession of Madison Island in the name of the United States by raising the American flag over the fort at Massachusetts Bay and firing a salute of seventeen guns from the artillery mounted there which was returned by the shipping in the harbor. This claim to possession was later repudiated by Congress. Still, when later American expeditions stopped at Madison Island, the natives asked when Captain Porter was coming back and remembered his visit as a great and pleasant event.

After the Hoppah War, peace reigned until trouble arose with the Typees on the other side of the island. By 27 November affairs were so acute that a force of sailors and marines under Lieutenant Downes, who was commander of the *Essex Junior* set out on a punitive expedition with friendly natives. After greatly enlarging the expedition with natives, Lieutenant Downes succeeded in burning most of the enemy's villages in a two day campaign. After this campaign, the natives were thoroughly convinced of the superior power of the Americans, and made overtures of peace. One of the ways they illustrated their loyalty was for each tribe to come and build houses in a village near the shore for the crew and for

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 55, 77, 137 (This reference is for the whole paragraph.) The above material that Captain Porter recorded is one of the by-products of the Navy's work. This early work of exploration, recording, and describing is the forerunner of future exploring expeditions such as Commodore Wilkes'. I digressed on the subject of the natives' migratory habits to show how a general eastward settlement of the South Sea Islands could have been effected from southeast Asia.

workshops. After this, friendly relations were maintained with the natives and both parties benefited from trading. The sailors enjoyed pleasant shore leave while the ships were refitted and the rats were smoked out.

Two incidents occurred, besides one attempted mutiny among the prisoners, which need not be considered, which gave Captain Porter an opportunity to test the loyalty of his crew. The first was when Robert Dunn, quartermaster, who was threatened by the officer of the watch with punishment for some neglect of duty, said the time for which he enlisted had expired and if he was punished he would never do duty again in the ship. (This type of incident was one which often faced naval commanders of Porter's time, and his method of handling it I consider excellent.) Most of the rest of the crews enlistment was up too which made the problem acute. Captain Porter informed Dunn that he would be punished and put ashore without being permitted duty again. He then explained to the rest of the crew that any whose time was out were free agents; that he would reenlist any who wished and give them the usual rewards; that such as refused to enlist, but would do duty might remain aboard but receive no pay or prize money and that on refusing this he would put them ashore. All the crew signed back except one member who just did duty until he was sent home. The officers and crew solicited pardon for Dunn so Captain Porter pardoned him from being put ashore. This settlement kept the crew in the service of the U. S. Navy, and stopped complaints about the length of service.

The second incident occurred when Captain Porter was about to leave Madison Island. The island with its plentiful food of breadfruit, cocoanut, and pigs, and beautiful women, who were free with their charms, had great attraction for the sailors. Many hated the idea of leaving. Then, on 9 December, after the ships had been overhauled and provisions were on board, Captain Porter stopped liberty for the crew. He felt they had better leave as an American ship had put into Massachusetts Bay so news of her presence there probably had leaked out. Three members of the crew were caught when they went ashore

for a parting kiss, and Captain Porter had them put to work in chains which effectively prevented a recurrence but caused considerable discontent. On Sunday, when it was the custom to visit other ships, one Robert White declared on board the *Essex Junior* that the crew of the *Essex* would not weigh anchor and if compelled to they would in three days after leaving port hoist their own flag. Captain Porter learned of this and mustered the crew on the larboard side of the deck on Monday morning. He had his cutlass with him and he placed it on the capstan. Captain Porter then told the crew that he had learned of the report and said, "Perhaps there may be some grounds for this report. Let me see who are and who are not disposed to obey my orders. You who are inclined to get the ship under way come on the starboard side. You who are otherwise disposed remain where you are."¹⁰⁸ All then walked over to the starboard side. He then called up White, an Englishman, and questioned him. White denied the report and Captain Porter had all who had visited the *Essex Junior* on Sunday step forward. He asked each of them if they had heard the report to which they replied they had. Then Captain Porter turned to White and said, "Run, you scoundrel, for your life!"¹⁰⁹ The fellow then went over the starboard gangway. Porter warned the crew not to repeat such an affair, and he ordered the fiddle to strike up "The Girl I Left Behind" as the ship got underway. The *Essex Junior* accompanied the *Essex* when she left Madison Island 12 December 1813 for the coast of Chile and the rest of the prizes were left under the charge of Lieutenant Gamble of the marines who held the fort.¹¹⁰

Nothing eventful occurred on the passage to Chile but Admiral Farragut comments on the training that the crew underwent during the voyage with the following words:¹¹¹

Every day the crew were exercised at the 'great gun,' small arms, and single stick. And I will here mention the fact that I have never been on a ship where a crew of the old

108 Porter, *Journal*, II, 142.

109 L. Farragut, *Life of Farragut*, p. 30.

110 Porter, *Journal*, II, 149.

111 L. Farragut, *Life of Farragut*, p. 31.

Essex was represented, but that I found them to be the best swordsmen on board. They had been so thoroughly trained as boarders that every man was prepared for such an emergency with his cutlass as sharp as a razor, a dirk made by the ship's armorer from a file, and a pistol.

Naturally, the British upon hearing of the destruction of their whaling fleet hastened to send vessels after the *Essex*. The *Phoebe* and *Cherub* were sent to Chile as well as the *Tagas* which arrived after the battle. Other vessels were sent to the China seas, New Zealand, Timor, New Holland, and the River La Platte. Thus quite a sizable force was after the *Essex*.¹¹²

The *Essex* and the *Essex Junior* arrived off Chile 12 January 1814, and looked into Conception and Valparaiso where only three British vessels were found. Although the Chilian government was not too friendly by this time Captain Porter upon hearing that the *Phoebe* 36, commanded by Captain Hillyar, was expected, decided to wait for her at Valparaiso. Early in February the *Phoebe* 36 arrived, but she had the sloop of war, *Cherub* 20, Captain Tucker, also with her. The arrival of the latter surprised Captain Porter. The *Cherub* mounted 18 thirty-two pound carronades, eight twenty-four's and two nine's on the quarter deck and forecastle, and her crew mustered 180 men. The *Phoebe* mounted 30 long 18 pounders, 16 thirty-two pound carronades, one howitzer, and six three pounders in the tops, and had a complement of three hundred and twenty men.¹¹³ The *Essex* in opposition had 40 thirty-two pound carronades, and 6 long twelve pounders, and a complement of 255 men. The *Essex Junior* had 10 eighteen pound carronades and 10 short six-pounders with a complement of 60 men.¹¹⁴ Thus the British had a force of eight-one guns and 500 men to the American's sixty-six guns and 305 men, in addition to the fact that the *Essex* had short range carronades while the *Phoebe* had long 18 pounders. This defect in the *Essex's* armament was noted in a report of John Downes

112 Porter, *Journal*, II, 159.

113 *Ibid.*, p. 130.

114 Preble, *First Cruise of the Essex*, p. 29.

who inspected the *Essex* in October, 1811, and Captain Porter had requested a change in her armament which was refused.¹¹⁵

When the English appeared, a whole watch or one-third of the *Essex* crew was ashore on liberty. Captain Hillyar on learning of this from a British merchantman, placed himself on the *Essex*'s port quarter and the *Cherub* to the leeward about a half a mile. On gaining the *Essex*'s quarter, Captain Hillyar put his helm down and luffed up on the *Essex*'s bow, coming within about fifteen feet of the *Essex*. By this time, the *Essex*'s crew was back on board, for as soon as the enemy had appeared a gun was fired and a signal hoisted for "all men and boats to return." Captain Hillyar, seeing the situation of all men at quarters sent his compliments. Porter replied, "You have no business where you are. If you touch a rope-yarn of this ship, I shall board instantly."¹¹⁷ The British backed down and stayed in the harbor for some days taking on provisions before they went outside to blockade it.

Captain Hillyar refused single ship action which Porter offered, and once when the *Phoebe* and *Essex* got within gun shot of each other Captain Hillyar ran down for the *Cherub*. This annoyed the Americans, but may be justified as Captain Hillyar's purpose was to destroy the *Essex* and he was taking no chances. The *Phoebe* flew a motto flag of "Free trade and sailor's rights," while the *Essex* had "God, our country, and Liberty; Tyrants offend them." Finally, upon learning of the force being sent out against him, Captain Porter decided to leave Valparaiso, but the occasion for so doing however was accidental. On 28 March 1814, a blow came from the south and parted the port cable and dragged the starboard anchor leeward. Captain Porter immediately got sail on the ship and decided to try to pass to the windward of the blockading force on the west side of the bay. On rounding the point a heavy squall struck the ship and carried away the main-top-mast, along with the men on the maintop

¹¹⁵ Porter, *Journal*, II, 30.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

gallant yard.¹¹⁸ Farragut's account says the top-gallant sails had been ordered down when the squall struck and though the top-sail halyards were let go, the yards jammed and would not come down.¹¹⁹ Thus, the *Essex* was almost free when the maintopmast went.

Captain Porter tried to regain the common anchorage, but he was unable to do so. He anchored in a small bay three quarters of a mile to the leeward of the harbor battery on the east side of the harbor, and a quarter of a mile off shore. Captain Hillyar then attacked the crippled *Essex* in a neutral bay with his superior force of the *Phoebe* and the *Cherub* at 55 minutes after 3 P.M. The unequal contest was fought bravely by the Americans. Captain Porter tried to get close enough to the *Phoebe* to board her, and once tried to run aground. Finally the situation was such that the *Essex* was in hopeless condition. The *Phoebe* and *Cherub* pounded her with their long guns, from a distance too great for those of the *Essex* to have any effect. Captain Porter struck at twenty minutes after 6 P.M. It was ten minutes after the colors were down and an opposite gun fired that the British ceased fire. There were only a couple of cases of desertion from the guns, and Captain Porter praised the conduct of the crew which fought for such an unparalleled length of time against great odds.

The losses of the *Essex* in the action were 58 killed, 66 wounded, and 31 missing. Most of those missing probably drowned when at one point Captain Porter ordered all over the side who wished to swim for shore, due to a fire. Captain Hillyar reported a loss of 4 killed and 7 wounded on the *Phoebe*, and one killed and 3 wounded on the *Cherub*.¹²⁰

It is of interest to note the opinions of Admiral Farragut who at the time was a Midshipman. He considered the original and greatest error was in attempting to regain the anchorage. The reasons were if the *Essex* had run before the wind she might have come in contact with the

118 Porter, *Journal*, II, p. 152.

119 L. Farragut, *Life of Farragut*, p. 35.

120 Porter, *Journal*, II, 151-156.

Phoebe and taken her by boarding, and secondly if she had gotten by, the chase would have been unequal as the *Cherub* was a dull sailer so the *Essex* would have had at least a single ship action. The second great error consisted in not beaching the *Essex* as soon as there was no chance of success so that one broadside was seaward. This would have prevented raking. Farragut then felt she could have been fired when it was necessary to leave.¹²¹

The final action of the *Essex* for the United States was Farragut's first battle. He records in his journal, "I shall never forget the horrid impression made upon me at the sight of the first man I had ever seen killed. He was a boatswain's mate and was fearfully mutilated. It staggered and sickened me at first; but they soon began to fall around me so fast that it all appeared like a dream and produced no effect on my nerves." I think this statement expresses why men are able to stand so much in battle. Another example of coolness under battle conditions was when Midshipman Isaacs reported that a quarter-gunner named Roach had deserted his post. Captain Porter turned to him and said, "Do your duty, sir."¹²²

Captain Hillyar's action, both when he first arrived and in attacking Porter, seem unjustifiable except that he was adhering to orders to capture the *Essex* with the least possible risk to his vessel and crew. This he did and after the action helped Captain Porter with the wounded and sent the crew back to the United States in the *Essex Junior*.

Captain Porter's continuing to fight as long as he did is justified for several reasons. The main one being that in the days of sail the element of chance or luck often determined the outcome of a naval battle and he might have succeeded in boarding the *Phoebe*. Another is that Captain Porter by continuing the fight put the two British ships out of active participation in the war for about six months. Surrender cannot be based on an individual situation, but should be based on the overall effect.

The *Essex* was lost to the American Navy, but the price

121 L. Farragut, *Life of Farragut*, pp. 38-39.

122 *Ibid.*

she had exacted from her victor and the fruits of her last voyage alone more than balanced the loss. Captain Porter, in his report of the final cruise, estimated that "to possess the *Essex* it has cost the British nearly six million dollars."¹²³ Not only were American vessels protected during the period of her Pacific activity, but in addition to this the British navigation in the Pacific was completely broken up. Below I have listed the captures made by the *Essex* between December, 1812, and March, 1814:

1812

December 12	Brig <i>Nockton</i>
24	Schooner <i>Elizabeth</i>

1813

March 25	Schooner <i>Nereyda</i>
29	Whale Ship <i>Barclay</i>
	Whale Ship <i>Montezumas</i>
	Whale Ship <i>Georgiana</i>
	Whale Ship <i>Policy</i>
May 2	Whale Ship <i>Atlantic</i>
28	Whale Ship <i>Greenwich</i>
	Whale Ship <i>Catherine</i>
	Whale Ship <i>Rose</i>
	Whale Ship <i>Hector</i>
July 13	Whale Ship <i>Cherlton</i>
	Whale Ship <i>Seringapatam</i>
	Whale Ship <i>New Zealander</i>
September 13	Whale Ship <i>Sir Andrew Hammon</i>

Captain Porter estimated the value of the actual damage done in the Pacific alone at two and a half million dollars, and even in her final battle the *Essex* did so much damage that both British ships had to return home for repairs. In addition to this the men of the *Essex* had lived off the enemy since leaving the United States. Each prize had served as a supply or store ship and considerable advances in pay had been given to the officers and crew.

To judge the career of such a ship as the *Essex* is difficult, but she certainly deserves a prominent place in

¹²³ Porter, *Journal*, II, 159.

American naval history. The patriotic offering for the building of the *Essex* made by the citizens of the seaport of Salem in 1798 was well justified when we recall that her original cost was only \$154,687.77, a small fraction of the value of the prizes taken on her final voyage alone not to mention the value of her overall services. She was the first public vessel of the United States to carry our flag around the Cape of Good Hope and around the Horn, besides capturing the first armed prize of the War of 1812. Even though she never had any hard battles prior to the war with Great Britain, her convoy work was of tremendous value in the Naval War with France and in the Barbary Wars. The value of her convoy and diplomatic work is the hardest to estimate and often in considering naval warfare this side is overlooked, but I feel that the *Essex's* greatest service to her country was this work which bolstered our expanding commerce usually without overt battle with enemy ships. The *Essex's* effect in the Mediterranean was often similar to that of a fleet-in-being.¹²⁴ As well as destroying the commerce of the enemy one of the basic objects of a Navy is the protection of the merchant marine and both types of service were performed by the *Essex* during her short career.

Aside from her actual accomplishments, few ships have ever had such a famous series of commanders as Preble, J. Barron, Bainbridge, Stewart, Cox, Campbell, Rodgers, Smith, and Porter. In addition two of the most famous men of our early Navy Stephen Decatur and David Farragut, received their early training on her decks, the latter receiving his only wound while aboard.

After her capture by the British, the *Essex* was repaired and towed to England where she was placed on the list of His Britannic Majesties Ships. One report says she was serving as a convict ship at Kingston, Jamaica in 1833. She was finally sold at auction at Somerset House by order of the British Admiralty on 6 July 1837 and was reported as "The Essex, 42,867, tons, then lying at Kingston."¹²⁵ That was the ignoble end of the gallant *Essex*.

124 Alfred T. Mahan, *On Naval Warfare*, (Little, 1948).

125 Preble, *Essex*, p. 31.

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Other secondary sources were useful mainly for tracing the overall naval policy of the time. Thus, for any detailed accounts I was forced to go to primary material consisting mainly of journals, official reports, and letters. Often these were very brief and factual with the exception of Farragut's and Porter's journals, which made it difficult to get a full idea of the situation. *During* the last part of the Barbary wars the movements of the *Essex* were particularly hard to trace and what was found out was obtained from official reports, other ship's journals and letters mentioning the *Essex*.

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HISTORY OF THE SOUTH CHURCH, PEABODY

FORMERLY IN THE MIDDLE PRECINCT OF SALEM,
LATER KNOWN AS THE SOUTH PARISH OF DANVERS

By BESSIE RAYMOND BUXTON

(Continued from Volume LXXXVII, page 64)

The request for dismissal was granted, with rather bad grace, as the letter of dismissal shows:

At a Church meeting at the Teacher's house, June 25th. The Church having received a petition from our bretheren and sisters living in the District wherein they desire a dismission from us for themselves and their children, in order to be a church of themselves. The Church giveth answer as followeth: That although we cannot praise or justify our bretheren's proceeding as far as they have done in order to be a church of themselves without advising with or using means to obtain the consent of the Church they belonged to: yet at the request of our bretheren and sisters, and for peace sake we permit them and their children to become a church of themselves: provided they have the approbation and consent of the Elders and messengers of some other churches in communion with us, that shall assist at their church gathering and ordaining them a pastor. And until they have so done, they continue members of this church. And so we commit them to the grace of God in Christ Jesus, praying that they may have divine direction and assistance in the great work they are upon, and that they may become an holy and orderly and peaceable church, and that the Lord would add to them of such as are within their own limits, many such as shall be saved. The above answer was twice distinctly read to the bretheren of the Church before it was voted, and then consented to by the vote of the church, nemine contradicente.

Rev. Benjamin Prescott was accordingly ordained. Sept. 23, 1713. Among those present were the elders and messengers of five churches—Cambridge, Lynn, Marblehead, Beverly and Salem Village. Mr. Noyes of the First Church did not attend. Rev. Mr. Green gives a brief



PARSON PRESCOTT HOUSE

Central Street

Courtesy Peabody Historical Society

account of it. "Sept. 23: I went with my wife to the ordination of Mr. Prescott. We gathered the Church in ye morning at Capt. Gardner's. Mr. Cheever was chosen Moderator and began with prayer. Mr. Prescott preached 2 Corrin. 5 & 19 v. Mr. Shepard gave ye charge and I ye right hand of fellowship and Mr. Blowers concluded." Osborne⁵ comments—"In all the history of the separation of towns and precincts, of which our legislative and municipal history furnishes many noteworthy instances down to the present time, there has rarely been a division more earnestly pursued or more stubbornly resisted than that which resulted in the formation of the Middle Precinct of Salem."

The interests of the inhabitants of the Middle Precinct were now centered about their parish meetings. The parish was distinct from the church organization, and was, in reality, the town. In these meetings, the schools, roads, raising men and money in time of war and the support of preaching were acted upon. They were still taxed by the town of Salem for the general expenses of the town and for schools, but they soon demanded separate schools in their own districts. These schools were not entirely free, the town paying for those who could not pay for themselves.

The first move towards the establishment of a school was made by Rev. Joseph Green of Salem Village (Danvers Highlands), whose two little boys had now reached school age. The town of Salem had voted on May 20, 1700, to give 15 pounds for "teaching children to read, write and cypher outside ye bridge, for three years," but apparently nothing had been done about it, and little children were obliged to make the long journey through the woods to Salem to attend schools. Mr. Green succeeded in getting a schoolhouse started, but it progressed slowly, so a room was hired in the house of Mr. James Houlton (50 Prospect Street, now marked by a bronze tablet) and Widow Katherine (Hodges) Daland of Salem town was engaged to keep a Dame School in 1708. Since

⁵ Historical Sketch by Theodore Osborne in "History of Essex County."

the money to pay her was not forthcoming from the town of Salem, the impatient dominie paid her out of his salary.

Assistance was asked from the town of Salem, and on March 24, 1711/12 Salem voted to allow them five pounds yearly, for 3 years, for a school where reading, writing and arithmetic would be taught. A committee met at once and decided to purchase the old house of Robert Pease in Gap Lane, (62 Central St.), with 20 rods of land "to improve as a schoolhouse for the education of our children." One room was prepared for immediate use, and Widow Katherine Daland was the teacher in the first public school in town. The committee in charge of this work were Capt. John Gardner, yeoman, John Osborne, husbandman, Samuel Cook, Jr., cooper, Jacob Read, Samuel Osbourne, husbandman, Robert Wilson, carpenter, Samuel Cook, husbandman, William Osborne, Jr., husbandman, Henry Cook and Joseph Buxton. On Mch. 25, 1712, the Pease property, house and three quarters acre of land, was deeded to Capt. Gardner by Robert Pease's son Isaac. Capt. Gardner deeded ten twelfths of the house and all the land to the men of the committee for five pounds, keeping the rest. In 1739, the town voted to build a new schoolhouse here and about 1840 the old house was removed and a new one built. In 1857 the school house lot was sold by "the inhabitants of School District No. 3 in South Danvers" to Andrew Curtis, bounded on Central Street 41 feet and 9 inches. The schoolhouse was divided, one half remodeled into the dwelling house at 62 Central Street, the other half moved to 16 Tremont Street, where they still stand. The Bowditch school was then built. The original house on this land is now (1950) still standing at 11 Winter Street, in sorry condition, and will undoubtedly be torn down soon.

After Mr. Prescott was chosen as the minister for the new church, a meeting was called on May 27, 1712 "to Consider of Bulding a Dwelling hous for ye minister or els to allow Sumthing to Mr. Prescot and he Buld a hous for himself." Later, the inhabitants were asked "to Consider whether they will please to give unto Mr. Prescot towards ye Bulding his Hous ye Rocks, timber and nails

not used about ye meeting hous." But at the next meeting, "Voted that ye inhabitants will give Mr. Prescott ye Rocks except ye Horsblocks, ye timber, allso except ye Joyce, and will give him also about 8000 of Shingle nails that ware left." It was "Agreed that ye inhabitants will subscribe to ye bulding of A hous for ye minister" and "Voted that ye inhabitants will put their money in papors." This is the first record of this manner of contribution, which led to the present system of envelopes for church contributions. At a later meeting, the directions are more explicit—"every person shall paper their money and write thereon the Sum and Their names that they are pleased to Contribute and that the Deacons with Mr. David Foster are desired to take Care of the Money and give an account to the parish at their March meeting of the Sum and Persons names, with the sum Every person pays in—that soe the parish may know what they contribute."

The new meeting house now became the civic center of the Middle Precinct. The calls to the earliest meetings were probably by word of mouth, but after the building was completed, the written call to the inhabitants for a meeting was posted on the door. On May 27, 1712, it was "Agreed—that befor any Publick meeting their be notis Giuin: two saboth days before ye meeting, on ye meeting hous, and that shall be counted a Legal Warning."

As soon as the new meeting house was finished, arrangements for its care were necessary. Since there were no fires, no carpets, no lights, little paint or window glass, the work was light. At first, the "weddow parnol" who lived nearby, did this work. Then a clause appeared in the church warrants "to chuse Som Sutiabable parson to Sweep the meeting house from time to time." In April, 1720, "They then agreed with Samuel Stace to Ring the bell euery night at nine of the Clock and euery Sabboth day and to sweep the meeting house for what the Inhabetance will giue the said Stace on year." At a meeting of the committee at "the house of Daniel Epes [at the head of Buttonwood Lane] with Samuel Stacy to make an agreement about Ringing the bell and sweeping the

meeting house Agreed by the committee and samuel Stacy that sd. Stacy will obblidge himself to Ring the Bell and sweep the meeting house this year beginning at Aprill 1 da 1722 as formerly. Viz: uppon the Bounty libberality and free Will of the Inhabbitants what they will be pleased to bestow uppon him—also sd. Stacy doth give up all that was Due before and begins a New: This Aprill The first 1722.” He was re-appointed year after year on these terms, and in 1726 he is called “the bellman.” In March, 1729, it was “Voted that Samuel Stacy is choisin to ring the bell and swepe the meting house & desiered to Keep an account what Inhabytants Giue him & to giue an account to Mr. David Foster of the Same and hee bringing In the next march metting sd. account.” In 1735, “Voted Sam’l Whittemore to ring ye Bell & Sweep ye Meeting house, if he sees cause, & ye Com:te is to agree with him for payment of ye same or with any other Person, if they can’t agree with sd. Whittemore.” In 1737, Stacy was again appointed and served until 1747. Osborne says “the title “sexton” does not appear in the old records, perhaps because the Puritans of that day thought that sexton (or as it was then pronounced “saxton” or “Saxon” being a shortening of “sacristan”) savored too much of church formality. After 1750 we find the “saxen” or “saxton” spoken of in the records.

The money for the minister’s salary and the necessary church expenses were raised partly by a rate or tax on the people and partly by voluntary contributions. From the very first, it was difficult to raise the money, for this was a farming population (“the ffarmers” as they were scornfully called by the people of the First Parish) and they lived largely by barter and exchange. The entire history of dealings between the parish and their minister shows how scarce money was. The minister had been promised eighty pounds a year, but it is doubtful if he ever received the full amount. A box was placed near the door of the meeting house, and strangers were expected to put some contribution into it. When the rates did not produce enough money for the minister’s salary, it was proposed to give him “the strangers money” but, put to vote, it was

decided that "Mr. Prescott shall have one halfe of ye money contributed by straingers and ye Inhabitants ye other halfe." Some years later, when collections were more difficult, he was given the whole of the strangers money. In October, 1723, the warrant states "Whereas The Reverend Mr. Benjamin Prescott hath had Extrordinary Charges & Repeated Deaths in his family for ye year past [his wife and two children] Therefore these are to give notice to ye Inhabitants—that they Consider of Mr. Prescotts present Circumstances, and whether they Will add 20 pounds more to his Salery for this year." But "it Passed in ye Negative." A month later, however, this action was taken and his salary was raised to £100 a year.

At first the moneys were collected and disbursed by a committee appointed at the church meetings, then by the Constables, but on March 25, 1721, the Inhabitants were asked "to Consider whether they will Chuse a Treasurer for the Parrish" and at the meeting on March 31st, Abel Gardner was chosen the first Treasurer. A week later "This may signifie to Whom it may consern—that I being Chosen Treasurer do refuse to serve. Abel Gardner." On May 22, 1721, David Foster was chosen treasurer, and served for fifteen years.

COLLECTOR'S WARRANT.

To Mr. Jacob Reed, Collector, Greeting.

We the subscribers being chosen and appointed by the middle Parrish in the Town of Salem, To make and Proportion a Rate on the Inhabitanse of said Parrish for the payment of ye Rev'd Mr. Benjamin Prescott as minister of said Parrish, and wee having proportioned the same on the Inhabitants of sd. Parrish You are Therefore in his Majesties Name hereby Required to Collect and Receive of the severall Persons named in the within list the severall Sums of money sett against their respective Names, the wholl sum amounting to fourty Eight Pounds three shillings, and pay in the same that is to say the one half of said sum at on or before the first day of October Next Ensuing the Date hereof and ye Remainder at on or before the first Day of aprill Next, unto Mr. David foster Treasurer for this Parrish: And if any Person or Persons shall neglect or Refuse to pay what

they are Rated or Assessed, you are to Distrain the goods or chattles of ye Person or Persons soe Refusing for ye Payment of the same and for want of goods or Chattles Wheron to Make Distress you are to seize the body or bodyes of the person soe refusing, and him or them to committ to the common Goal in Salem untill he or they pay or satisfie the sum or sums that they are Rated or Assessed: Unless the same or any Part thereof with Due Application to the quarter or Generall Sessions Shall be Abated.

Dated in Salem June 12 day 1721.

	Sam'll Gardner
	Dan'll Epes
Dan'l Epes, Clerk.	Sam'll King
	Dan'll Macktier
	Thorndick Proctor.

Whereas Mr. Jacob Reed and Mr. John Tarball were collectors In ye middle Parish in Salem In the year 1721 and had Then the Rates of sd. Parrish Committed to them to Collect which Rates amounted to the sum of £86-1 (Viz) £80 to the Reve'nd Mr. Benj'n Prescottt for his Salery: and the remaining part of the above Sum is allowed to Mr. David Foster as Treasurer of sd. Parish for Expences In his many Suits at Law with The Collectors that had not paid him: Together with the Abatements and what the Law gives the above Reed and Tarball for their Service for collecting which maks the above sum: For which sum Mr. David Foster hath given a Receipt in full to sd. Reed and Tarball: Therefore we doe give unto Mr. David Foster a full Discharge of the above sd. Sum .

Salem- March 1 day, 1723/4. Per order of The Committee
Daniel Epes Clerk.

The first list of rates in the Church Record is in June, 1721, and contains 154 names. The total amount to be collected by Jacob Reed and John Tarball was 82 pounds, 17 shillings, and the individual rates varied from two pounds ten shillings, to one shilling—the widow's mite. Because of the difficulty of the collection, it was "voted that the committee take the direction of the law to gather the minister's rates this year." So the Record contains a truly fearsome legal document, well calculated to scare delinquents into prompt payment. It is doubtful, how-

ever, if any one was actually sent to the "common gaol" for non-payment of church rates, nor did the legal warrant produce prompt payment. Each year the warrant was in the same severe terms, and each year there were delinquents. One list of rates assessed in 1728 was not completed until 1743. To make matters still more difficult, the depreciated currency of the times fell in value and although the minister's salary was raised to one hundred pounds, to one hundred and fifty, then to two hundred pounds, a pencil note in the Record gives this amount as equal to 66 $\frac{2}{3}$ pounds specie, less than the 80 pounds granted him at the beginning of his ministry. The result of this was a bitter controversy, lasting many years, and culminating in a lawsuit.

Perusal of these old records show that our forefathers were as free to appoint committees as their descendants are today. One of those ancient committees has come down to us—the Prudential Committee. It is first mentioned in 1722 "Voted—Capt. Sam'll Gardner Daniel Epes Thorndike Proctor William Osburn Thomas Mackentire be chosen for a committee to manage the prudential affairs for this Parrish" and each succeeding year the church warrants contained a reference to the Prudential Committee.

Meanwhile, the new parish was growing. Yearly, new names appear in the List of Rates and the amount raised increased from £86-17 shillings in 1721 to £240-4 shillings six pence in 1738. From time to time, in the church warrants, appear requests for seats or pews. Usually these were refused or ignored, but there were so many applications that finally, in 1726 they considered "whether or no the seats below should be moved into a Range Thereby making Room for Pews." The next year it was granted that "ye sd. petitioners shall have ye hindermost seat in the front Gallery of ye men to build up a seat for Themselves as they shall see meet." The difference between the pews and the seats is clarified by a line in an English book, describing an old English church. This describes the Jacobean box pew of the people of quality, contrasting with the narrow Gothic benches of the common folk. When

the English settlers came to New England, they brought with them the customs of Old England.

In 1731, Desire Marsh, Sarah Felton and others "desire that you would grant them the Hind Seat in the Galery att the East End of the meeting house." This was "soe far granted that the petitioners have leave to build A Seat over the women's Galery Dureing the pleasure of the inhabitants and no longer—to keep itt up and that they build-itt in half year from this Date and that the Committe order ye building of itt as to the lenth height breadth and Depth of said seat."

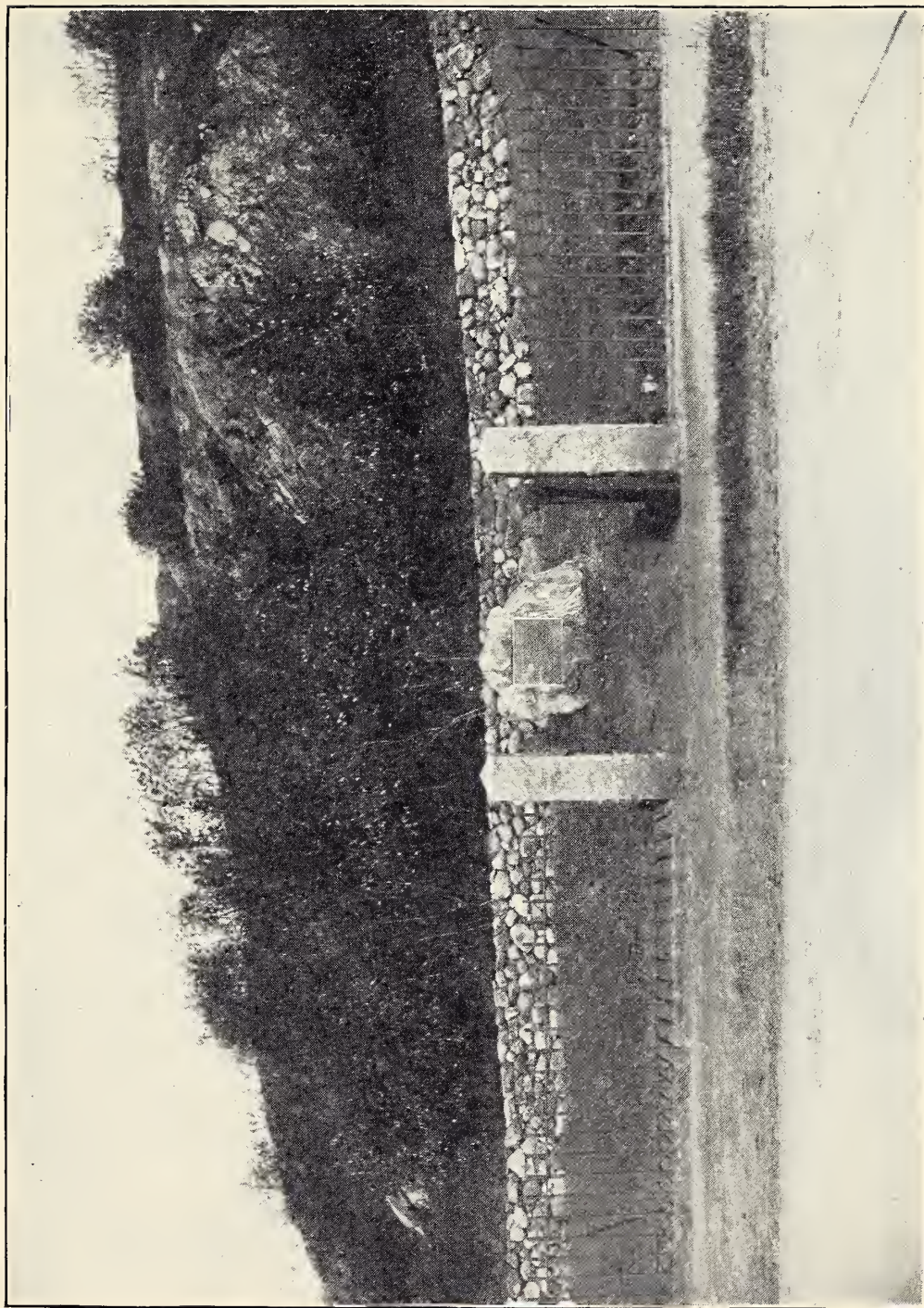
Applications still continued, so in 1733/4 it was voted to "chuse a Committee for the whole Regulation of the Pews." Apparently this Committee was inactive, for in 1735 "Voted that ye Same Committe stand good and are chosen to regulate ye affairs about ye Pews that was last year and yt they bring in their report of wt they have done att ye Next parrish meeting." Still nothing was accomplished and at the March 8, 1736 meeting it was Voted that ye Comm:te ab:o ye Pews be Earnestly desired to do something concerning them this Spring, or as Soon as may bee Conveniently.

This brought action and two weeks later the committee reported that

We have according to ye Desire View'd & measured ye Meetinghouse below in order to move ye Seats, and make pews, and we find that You may have eight Seats of a side which will Contain as many persons as they do now, wanting three or four—And you may have Twelve Pews of ab:o 5 feet and 5 inches Square, and the Charge of Moveing & Fixing ye Seats in their proper place, will be ab:t three pounds.

This report was accepted and it was

Voted To Make Pews, and ye Number Twelve, of ye Contents of Ab:o 5 feet & 5 inches Square, And that they be sett att Ten pounds price Each—Voted That ye pews now to be Built be raised 3 Inches from ye floor of ye Meeting house and no more, and yt they be built as high from their floor as ye Old pews are, from their floor, and they that have them are to build them att their own Cost, and move ye



PARSON PRESCOTT BURIAL GROUND
Courtesy Peabody Historical Society

Seats att their own Cost. Voted That those persons yt have ye Pews pay in Ten pounds to ye Com:t Chosen for yt purpose, att their admittance, and Build their pews and finish them by ye first Day of May Next, and if any or either of them fail, then the Comittee is hereby fully Impowered to Sell his or their pews to ye Highest bidder.

Notes on page 3, Volume 1 of the Record:

William Curtices Abatements:

Joseph Sybley	0 15 00	
William henfield	0 4 00	
Thomas Green	0 4 00	
John Harwood	0 4 00	
Sam'll Pudney	0 7 00	
Jon'th Nurse	0 2 00	
William Curtice	0 10 00	what the law for gathering
	<hr/>	
	2 06 00	

Jonathan Nurses Abatements:

John Nurse	1 00	Dan'll Epes	23
John Harwood	00 4	John Jacobs	18
Thomas Green	00 4	John Waters	14
William Henfield	00 4	Capt. Endicott	9
John Marsh	00 3	Shelton Felton	7
	<hr/>	Samuel King	7
	1 02 5	Ezekiel Marsh	6
Jonath Nurse for gathering 00-10		Thorndick Procter	7
Jonath Harwood Sr.	0 8	Ezekiel	5
Jonathan Marsh	0 5	Douty	5
Assessors the same:		Wite	6
Daniel Epes, Clerk		Marble	5
David Foster, Treasurer			
Sept 18th-1735	3 5 0		
Sept. 23	3 0 0	Daniel	
Feb. 7-1735	5 0 0		
to mending ye windows meetinghouse 5-2			
	<hr/>		
	0 16 7		
Aba	5		
	<hr/>		
	0 17 0		

Rev'd Benjamin Prescotts Sallery Brought to Two Hundred Pounds.

The new arrangements made a second "seating of the meeting house" necessary in 1736/7. Lots were drawn for first choice of the pews "to such Persons as said Committee shall Think most Suitable." The prices ranged from five to fifteen pounds for each pew. "Mr. Wm. Shillowbeer paid to the Committee Fifteen pounds (Viz:) Ten pounds for the Pew and five pounds towards building sd. pews and moveing the seats." Deacon Abraham Pierce, that good man, ordered his pew sold and the money—twelve pounds—given to the poor. The committee allotted Pew No. 6 to the Ministry and "the Inhabitants voted to give ye Rev'd Mr. Prescottt that pew (and ye Building of itt) which ye Com't for pews allotted to him." The cost of the seats is not mentioned, but the name and location of each person's seat is carefully listed. It was "voted to lay out & Dispose of ye pew money in Clabbordering & Repairing ye meeting house."

The schools claimed attention at this time. In March, 1738, it was "Voted to Chuse 5 men to Regulate Schools, and chose Viz: Jona: Buxton, Jasper Needham, Samuel Felton, Benj:a Southwick & Daniel Pudinton, and that the ab'o Comittee be Impowered to Receive what mony is Necessary for this present Year, out of the Town Treasury, or out of any other persons Hands where itt is Due, to pay for Schooling and to make Report of their Doings att ye Next Annual meeting in March, of what they Have Expended and on whom, and ye Said Com:t to Chuse Suitable persons to keep Reading & writing schools in said Parish and to satisfy them for ye Same, and the Major part of said Com:t Have full power to Act on ye Affair. Voted that ye Parish Comittee be Desired to talk with a man to keep a School in this parish for Learning Lattin, Writeing Cyphering & Reading, and call a meeting, & make Report att ye Said Meeting of their Doings, as soon as they can Conveniently."

In the Warrant of November 9th, 1742, the Inhabitants were asked to decide "whither ye will keep a school this Winter or any Part thereof or whither ye Inhabitants will keep any School at all. It past in ye Negative. It being put to vote Whither ye Inhabitants will act on ye Affair

of Mr. Daniel Gardner, Relateing to ye Rights he Claims in ye Meeting House in Behalf of his Grandfather. It past in ye Negative."

Another meeting was held that same month "To consider what method ye Inhabitants will take with Capt. Samuel Endecott Relateing to school mony which is now in his hands, he Neglecting to pay ye Same. It being put to vote Whither ye Inhabitants will give Capt. Sam'll Endecott ye School mony which is now in his hands—It past in ye Negative. Voted—That ye Affair Relateing to ye School mony now in Capt. Sam'll Endecotts Hands be Left to ye School Com:t to Regulate & Settle as they see meet."

The following year, the people living in the more distant parts of the parish asked for schools for their children and on November 21, 1743 "Voted that ye Inhabitants Liveing in ye westerly part of the Parrish Shall have there Part of ye School Money this Year and that the same Com:te Receive it this Year that did Last year Voted that ye Inh:a Living in ye Northfield [from Central Street east to the river] Have their Proportion of ye School money this Present Year Viz: the Fosterses, Jacobses Waterses and Smalls and that Lieut. John Waters Receive the money for them. Voted that the Expence of Dan'll Epes Jr. Dan:ll Gardner and John Procter Jr: be allowed to them for money expended at Boston to make Answer at ye Great and General Court to ye petition of Capt. Endecott and others and James Prince Agent for ye Village, and to be paid out of the School money viz: to Dan:ll Epes Jr. Five Pounds old Tenour and to Dan:ll Gardner & John Procter fifty two Shillings each, old tenour."

Having obtained schools and teachers, schoolhouses were now desired, and on November 28, 1745, "Voted that ye School Committee be hereby impowered & Desired to Errect a School or Schools in ye parish as soon as may be & agree with Sutable Person or Persons to keep the same & that the above Said Com:tte be impowered to Draw ye School moneys out of any bodyes hands where they may find it is Due."

Each year the Warrant contains clauses to consider building a school house and repairing the turret on the meeting house, but it was not until "Dec. ye 5—1748 Voted to Build a Schoolhouse by ye Road between Ens:n John Procters & Mr. Daniel Marbles by or near ye Great Rock in ye Road. The School house to be 7 feet Between Joynts & 18 Feet one way & 22 Feet the other way with a plain Roof." This school house was built near Procter's Crossing and the Great Rock was removed when the road was widened. Many years later, the schoolhouse was removed to the corner of Cross and Andover streets, where it was used as an ice house.

In June, 1740, having attained ecclesiastical freedom, and liking it, "the ffarmers" as the Salem merchants called them, began to desire civic freedom as well, and a meeting was called "To See if itt be ye Minds of the Inhabitants of Said parish, to Come off from ye Town of Salem and Joyn with ye Village [Danvers Highlands] if they see Cause to take ye Whole of this parish, as itt is now bounded and make a Township of our selves, Seperate from ye Town of Salem And to see if itt be ye Minds to Chuse a Committee to Manage the whold Affair, and Lay their proceedings before the Inhabitants att their Next Meeting." And on July 1st, 1740, it was so voted, also "Voted to Chuse Seven men to serve on ye Com:t and chose Ezekiel Marsh, Daniel Epes Junr, John Jacobs, Eben:r Molton Eben:r Foster Samuel King and Dan'll Marble. And they are Desired to Bring forward the Affair as soon as they can Conveniently Either by Treating with a Committee of ye Village that are or may be Chose concerning ye Township, or any way else as they shall think propper, in order to Bring forward the Township. Daniel Epes, Junr; Clerk."

Two years passed, without results, and on "Aprill ye 12, 1742 "Voted to Chuse a Com:te of Seven Men to Treat with a Comittee of ye Village Concerning Comeing off from ye Town of Salem and chose Daniel Epes Esq: Daniel Epes Junr: Ensn. John Procter, Ezekiel Marsh, Daniel Purrington Eben:r Marsh & Joseph Osbon, to treat with ye Village & Lay their proceedings before ye

Inhabitants of said Parrish." Nine years went by and then the matter was revived and on May 9, 1751 "It being put to Vot whither the Inhab:s of ye Middle Parish in Salem will Joyne with ye Inhabitants of ye Village Parish to Come of from ye Town of Salem as a Seperate town ship by themselves and it past in the affermitive." The following September it was voted "That ye Report of ye Com'te be Accepted, which is as follows (Viz) Whereas ye Village parish & ye middle parish in Salem have agreed to come of from ye Town as a Seperate Town by themselves, as Appears by ye Votes of their Respective Meetings, and also whereas we ye Subscribers being Appointed & Impowered for & in behalf of Each parish to Confere Together & make Report at ye meetings of Sd. Parishes Respectively relateing to Sd. Affair, have meet Together & after due Consideration make Report as follows (Viz.) That ye Town Meetings shall be one year in one parish & ye Next year in ye other Parish Successively—That ye Major part of ye Selectmen & Assessors shall be Chosen one year in one parish, & Ye Next year in ye other parish Successively. That Each parish shll share Equally in all profitts & Benefitts that Shall happen or accrue. July ye 2nd 1751.

Daniel Epes Junr.	}	for the Middle Parish
Malachi Felton		
John Proctor		

	}	Samuel Flint
for the		Cornelius Tarbole
Village.		James Prince.

Voted That Daniel Epes Junr: Esq: Dea. malichi Felton & Ensn. John Proctor be a Committee to Joyn with ye Com'tt of ye Village parish to prepair & prefere a petition to the Town of Salem, Relateing to ye Sd. Village & this middle Parishes Comeing of from ye sd. Town of Salem, as a Seperate Town by themselves, and Likewise to forward ye matter att ye Great & General Court according to their best skill & Judgement."

In the Court House in Salem we find "Chapter 14, Acts of 1752: An act for erecting the Village Parish and Middle Parish, so Called, in the town of Salem, into a

Distinct and Separate District by the Name of Danvers:

That part of the said town of Salem which now constitute the Village and Middle parishes in said town, according to their boundaries and the inhabitants therein, be erected into a separate and distinct district by the Name of Danvers. Passed January 28, 1752." The Essex Institute has the original document and photo of it.

The Warrant for the Parish Meeting on Monday February 24th, 1752 speaks of the "Middle Parish In Salem ALIOUS Danvars." Another meeting was called the next month, March 16th, and this warrant gives the new name "the Second Parish in the Destrict of Danuers." The following September the warrant gives yet another name for the parish "the South Parish in Danuers" and thereafter the warrants and reports of the parish clerk are headed in this manner.

From 1727 to 1756 the Church Records are largely a record of the unhappy controversy between Mr. Prescott and the Church. The vote in March, 1738 to give him £200 in the old Tenor of the Province of Massachusetts Bay or "Passable Bills of Credit on ye Collonys of Connecticut or Rhoad Island as his Salery" sounded much larger than it really was. The same amount was voted in 1739 in the same deteriorated money.

Specie was very scarce in those early days and business in the smaller towns and villages was carried on by barter. The various provinces issued paper money which was supposed to have a cash guarantee, but this was doubtfull in most instances. The money of the Province of Massachusetts began to deteriorate in 1712, owing to the manner in which the government prolonged the period of redemption. As the Province bills multiplied, they depreciated. In 1733, Rhode Island issued a large number of bills which were expected to have their chief circulation in Massachusetts but people were warned against taking them. Bills of the Colony of New Hampshire were banned in 1735. The Massachusetts bills were so scarce that taxes were paid in hemp, flax and bar-iron. Judge Sewall said "The diminution of the value of the bills of public credit is the cause of much oppression in the Pro-

vince. Clergymen suffer much from the fall of paper currency. As their salaries are paid at par, they are wronged out of much which justly belongs to them. The loss falls heavily, too, upon widows and orphans, but those who live by credit benefit."

In 1737, the General Court of Massachusetts issued new bills called New Tenor. Former bills were now called Old Tenor. The value of the new bills was fixed in Lawfull Money and these bills were to be redeemed in 1742. In 1739 a bill was passed in Massachusetts that "no paper money of other Provinces shall betaken in Massachusetts unless redeemable by lawfull money on good security." By 1740 ten pounds in the old tenor bills was worth only one pound, six shillings and eight pence in lawfull money. In 1745, a large shipment of silver and copper coins, much of it of Spanish coinage, came into Boston from England, but it was not enough to redeem all bills. This, perhaps, accounts for old Spanish coins still in existence in Peabody.

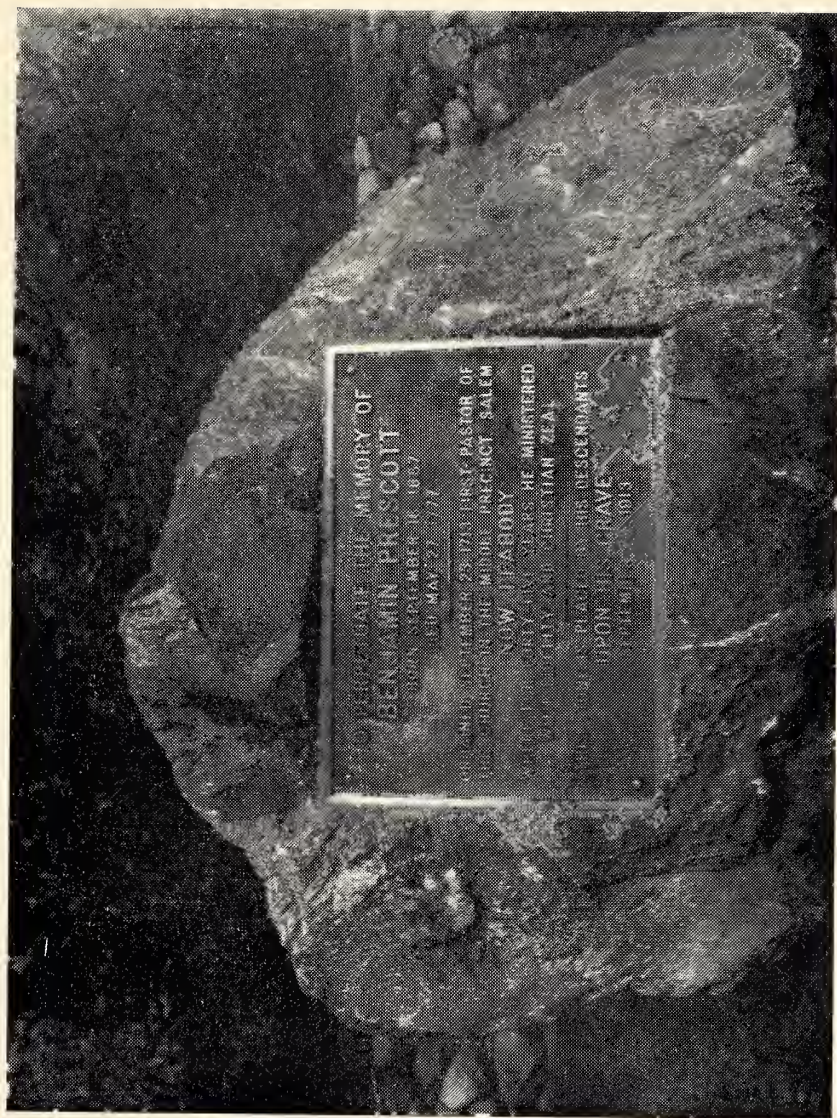
On March 13th, 1740, the inhabitants were asked to consider "whither ye will give ye Rev:d Mr. Benjamin Presscott as his Salery for this present year, Eighty pounds province Bills of the New Tenor, or other publick Bills of Creditt Equivalent which will make ye Sum of Two Hundred & Fourty pounds pr year or, otherwise, what sum shall be thought proper. It being put to Vote whither ye Inhabitants will Engage to Cart Sufficient firewood for ye Rev:d Mr. Benj:a Prescott for this present year (Viz) Twenty five Cords: from Heart's ffarm, [Hart's farm was at the present-day junction of Main and Lowell Streets in Lynnfield Centre] or nearer, Mr. Presscott finding the wood ready cutt; The time for carting said wood is as follows: (Viz) one Day Carting att or Before ye Tenth Day of June next, one Day att or before the 10th Day of September next, and one Day att or before ye 10th Day of January Next, and Mr. Samuel King and Mr. Jasper Needham are Desired to warn ye Inhabitants to the Seasonable carting ye same."

One year later it was voted to add ninety pounds to Mr. Prescott's salary "which will make the sum of Two

Hundred and Fourty pounds, to be paid in ye old Tenor bills or Equivalent in ye New Tenor Bills. It past in ye Affirmative. It being put to Vote whither ye Inh:a will Find ye Rev. Mr. Prescott his firewood this Year, as itt was found him Last year. It past in ye Negative. It being put to Vote Whither ye Inha:a will Raise Twenty five pounds, Bills of ye old Tenor, or Equivalent in ye New Tenor by way of Tax on ye Inh:a for this present Year, to procure ye Rev: Mr. Prescott his firewood and those of ye Inh: that shall fetch wood from Harts ffarm, Shall have 3/ pr. foot Discounted out of their Tax, Mr. Prescott finding wood ready cutt. It past in ye Affirmative. Voted That ye Tax for ye Wood for Mr. Prescott, being 25 pounds be added to ye Tax for ye Rev:d Mr. Prescotts salery which makes ye Sum of 265 pounds."

In 1742, his salary was raised to 270 pounds (old Tenour Bills) or equivalent in New Tenour Bills, and his firewood. The same amount was paid him for the two succeeding years. As it was becoming more and more difficult to collect the tax money, an additional penalty was added to the threat of "Goal" in the church warrant. "and if any person or persons Shall neglect or Refuse to Pay what he or they are Rated or Assessed you are to Distrane on the Goods or Chattles of the person or persons so Refusing to the value thereof & ye Distress or Distresses so taken you are to keep by the space of 4 Days at the Cost and Charge of ye owner & if ye owner Do not Pay the Sum or Sums of money so assed upon him within the sd four Days then the sd Distres or Distresses So taken you are to Expose & openly Sell at an out Cry for Payment of sd money & Charges notice of Such Sale being Posted up in Some Publict Place within the same Town 24 Howers beforehand & ye overplus Coming by said Sale if any be after the Sum or Sums of ye Assesment and the Charges of takeing and keeping of the Distres or ye Distreses to be Imeadeatly Returned to the ownener." This continued until 1748, when the warrant returned to its original form.

In March, 1746, it was voted to give Mr. Prescott 300 pounds, bills of old tenor and his firewood.



TABLET ON THE BOULDER AT REV. BENJAMIN PRESCOTT BURIAL GROUND
Tremont Street, Peabody

March 10-1747: These are to Give Notis to the Inhabitants of the middel pearish in Salem that theay assembl together at the meetening House on mondy the 13th instant at 3 of the Clook afternoon to know what the Inhabatance Shall think proper to Be Done Concerning the Rev:d Mr. presotts Sealary for this perasant year or weather theay will make any allowance for his Salary not being Good the Least year also weather or no theay will state the Sealry for any sarten time in Case he will Give the pearish a Discharge for what he heaes Sufred By the fall of the mony to the year 45 after he heas Recued the Sums uoted him to that time and also to know weather or no theay will Dismiss the Rev:d Mr. Presctte if he will not Giue the pearish a Discharge to the year 45 when he heas Recued the Sums uoted him to that time if he will giue a Discharge to the pearish upon his dismishon acording to his promis to the Comitte at his Hous after the Least meetening and also to Recuee the Report of the Scool Committee.

David Goldthwait, Parish Clark

April 13, 1747: Voted that the Rev.d mr. prescott Shall haue the Sum of four Hundred pounds old tenor for this presant year for His Salary. It being put to uote wheather theay will Consider Mr. prescotts Salary not Being Good the Least year and it past in the affermitiue. Being put to uote weather theay will alow one Hundred ponds for the Salary not Being Good the Last year and it past in the negitiue. Being put to uote wheather theay will alow Eighty pounds for the Last year and it past in the negitiue also Sixty pounds. Being put and it past in the negitiue fifty pounds Being put and it past in the negitiue also thurty pounds Being put and it past in the negitiue. Being put to uote wheather or no theay will Setel the Salary for any Sarten time and it past in the negitiue. Being put to uote wheather or no theay will act upon that Clase in the warant to desmiss the Rev'd mr. prescott and it past in the negitiue. David Goldthwait parish Clark

March 22, 1747/8. Voted That Jn:a Procter, Deacon Felton & Benj:n Prescott Jun:r Sort the votes.

"It being put to Vote whether the Inhabitants will give Mr. Prescott Six Hundred pounds old Tenor for this year and it passed in the Negative. Voted That Mr. Prescott Shall have Five Hundred and Fifty pounds Old Tenor for the year Ensuing." In 1748 it was voted not to find

Mr. Prescott his firewood that year. Timothy Upton was voted to be "Saxton" the first time this word is used in the records. The following year, Sept. 4, 1749, it was "voted That Mr. Prescott shall have Six hundred and Forty pounds old Tenor for his Salary for this Present Year. Voted that the parish Committee be hereby Impowered and Desired, to Treat with Mr. Prescot, and know on what Terms he will give the Parish a full Discharge, for his Salery, in Years past to this present Time, & make Report at the Next Meeting." After this interview, Mr. Prescott sent the following letter to the church:

Dear Brethren and Neighbors,

As I have often observ'd to you, the Original Grants by you made for my Support, were, in the Day when made no more than was then barely Sufficient for that End: and that justice required that you should have yearly have paid me so much as would have Answered the Expence of my Living amongst you to Serve you. And WHEREAS through the Fall of our Paper Currency the Payments you have made have fallen Short of answering that End: I do now to Issue all Disputes upon that Head, which have already arisen, to prevent any further Disputes that might arise thereon, make the following Offer or Proposal to you (to wit) That I will Joyn with you in the Choice of Two Men by us to be Requested & Impowered, to make a just Computation of what your Payments for my Salary since the year 1727⁶ (Inclusive) have in Value fallen Short of your original grants, & to State an Acco:t whereby it Shall appear what Sum in the present Currency it requires to make up the Loss I have sustained thro' the Deficiency of the Sum by you paid me, And in Case you will Pay or Secure to me the payment of Two Thirds of that Sum (be the same more or Less) I will give you a full Discharge of the Whole. AND FURTHER in Case you fall in Comply with this Proposal it shall be in your Power (when you please) to Call & Settle another Ministor of sound Knowledge, & a good Life among you, And the Day his Salary shall begin mine Shall Cease, and upon your Dischargeing me of my Obligation to Ministor to you in holy things, I will discharge you of all Obligations

6 This is a typical case of what happened in many parishes due to the depreciation of the currency. Mr. Prescott could get no satisfaction so had referred to the courts for payment of his salary. This was not settled until 1752.

thence forward to Minister anything more for my Support. As Witness my hand. B. Prescott. To the Third Parish in Salem, Sept. 4th, 1749.

At a Meeting of the middle parish in Salem "No:br 12th, 1749—it being put to vote, whether the Inhabitants will accept the above proposal & it Passed in the Negative."

The next church warrant, the following March, contains the clause "to know what the Inhabitants will do Concerning the Rev:d Mr. Prescotts Sallary for this present Year, & to See if the Inhabitants will Chuse a Committee to Give Reasons to the Rev:d Mr. Prescott why they did not Except of his Proposall which was Voted upon at a Meeting of the parish on the 12th of Feb. last, & also to Treat with Mr. Prescott an Acco:t of the Deficiency of the Payment of his Salary in Time past, & to See what Sum he will give the Parish a full Discharge for."

A meeting was called for the following June 11th, "to Consider and act what the Inhabitants Shall think propr Conserving the Account the Rev:nd Mr. Benj:a Prescott hath Laid Before the Committee to be Communicated Respecting the Deficant payments of his passt Sallary Either by Chuseing a Committee or any other method the Inhabitants Shall think proper Also to See what the Inhabitanee Shall think Best to be Done with the Bell either to take it Down or New hang it." And at the meeting it was voted that a committee of 3 men take advice upon the account that the minister had submitted. The matter drifted along until the October meeting, when it was "Voted that Mr. prescott shall Have Seventy six pounds ten Shilling lawfull money for His Salery for this Preasant Year." But the back payments were deferred until the next meeting in December, 1750. "Voted Wheather the Inhabitants will Give Mr. prescott 1019 ounces of Silver for His Deficance payments to the Year 1749 in Case He will Give the parish a full Discharge to that time and it past in the Negative. It being put to Vote wheither the Inhabitants will Give ye Rev.d Mr. Prescott any Sume Provided he will give a full Discharge for time past it

past in ye Affirm:a it being put to Vote wether the Inhabitants will Give the Rev:d Mr. Prescott two hundred pounds to paid at 4 Equall Anuel payments & ye whole to be Completed in 4 years from the time provided that Mr. Prescott will Give ye Parish A Full Discharge for Time past It past in ye Affirma: Voted Mr. Daniel Epes Junr: Esq: Mr. Nathan Procter Mr. Joseph Osborn be a Committee to in form the Rev.d Mr. Prescott what the parish Has Voted Him for the Defencei of the payments in time past and Make Report at the a gornment of the Meeting. At the agornment Voted that the Vot past at this Meeting to Give the Rev:d Mr. Prescott 200 pounds for Deficance of ye payments Be Reconsidered Mr. Prescott Not Accepting of the Same. Voted, It being put to Vote wheather the Inhabitants will Leave the Mater in Dispute to the Judgment of three men in Case that Mr. prescott will Joine with them in Said proposol and it past In the Nagitive."

These May Notify the Inhabitants of this Middle Parish In Salem that they Assembl together at the Meeting House on Monday the 18th of this Instant at two of the Clock Aftear Noon to receive a Coppa of the Complant that the Rev:nd Mr. Benj:a Prescott Laid Before the Honourable his Majesties Justies of the County of Essex at their Generall Sessions of the Peace in Salem on the Last tusday of December 1750 and to act on said Complaint as the Inhabitents Shall Think proper By order of the Committe February 8th 1750. David Goldthwait Clark.

At a meeting of the Middle parish in Salem February 18th 1750, Voted—Daniel Epes Esq: Capt. Samuel Endicot Jun:r Nathan Procter & Capt. Isaac Cook & Mr. Joseph Osborn be Chosen a Com:t and they Hereby are Impowered & Desired to treat with Mr. Prescott & Know ye Lowest Sum that Mr. Prescott will take for Deficiency of payments of his Salary for Time past, and Give ye Parish a full Discharge & to make repport att ye Adjournment of this meeting. Voted—It being put to uot wheathere the Inhabitants will Except of the Complant that the Rev:d Mr. Benj:e Prescott Layd Before this Meting and it past in the Negative. Voted to Chuse a Committee to make ansure to the Rev. Mr. Benj:a Prescott at the Sessions at Ipswich on the Last Tusday of March next. Voted Mr. John Procter Capt. Sam'll Endi-

cott Capt. Isaac Cook Capt. Benj: Ifes & Nathan Procter Be the Committee Voted to Raise Money to Defray the Charges of ye Committee to Make Ansure to the Complant that the Rev:nd Mr. Benj:a Prescott Layd Before the sessions at Salem on the last Tusday of December 1750 the Committee Rendering account to the Parish of the Same. Voted to Raise thurteen pounds Six Shillings & 8d. to Defray the Charges of the above Committee and it past in the fermeitive. Voted Mr. Daniel Gardner, Mr. John Procter David Goldthwait be a Committee to go to Boston to Imply a Lawyer or Lawyers to answer to the Above Complant Voted that the Clark Draw the Thurteen pounds Six Shillings and 8 out of the Parish Trasury By Oorder of the Committee and He Being accountable for the Same.

In 1750, Mr. Prescott brought suit in the Court of Sessions at Salem against the parish for his unpaid salary. A parish meeting was held on March 18th and it was "Voted to Raise 20 pounds Lawfull Money to Defray ye Charges in Carring on the case Depending between the Rev:nd Mr. Benj: Prescott and the Parish and the Overplus if any be to Defray ye Nesery Charges of the Parish." In May, 1751, the parish "Voted to hire Some Meet Man or person to preach one Month to Begin next Sabbeth Day." This proved difficult, for on July 1st "The Com'te chosen to agree with a persen or persons to preach ye Last month Being Disappointed in getting a person or persons to preach therefore Voted yt ye Same Com't be Desired & Impowered to gett some person to Supply ye Pulpitt for one month Next & ye Inha: of ye Parrish to pay for ye same."

Apparently Mr. Prescott's suit in the courts was dropped, for the court records show no report of it at this time. On December 2, 1751 it was "Voted to Give Mr. Prescott Seventy Six pounds ten shillings Lawfull Money for his Salry for this presant Year. It being put to Vot wheather the Inhab: will Except of the proposall that Mr. prescott made to the parish Com't to be Communicated to said parish and it past in the negitife." After this refusal, Mr. Prescott again began suit in the courts, as the Warrant for the Parish Meeting shows. "These May Notify the Inhabitants of this Middle Parish in

Salem ALIOUS DANVARS [the first time the new name was used] that they assembl to geather at the Meeting House on Monday the 24th of this Instaant Feb'y at two of the Clock after Noon to Receive a Coppy of the Complaint that the Rev'nd Mr. Benj:a Prescott Lay Before the Honnorabel the Justices of the Court of Jeneral Sessions of the peice Held at Salem in and for the County of Essex on the Last tusday of December 1751 Also to know wether they will Chuse a Committee or Committees to Make answer to Said Complaint or any other way the Inhaba: Shall think proper By order of the Committee Salem Alious Danuars February 13th 1752. David Goldthwaite P. Clark."

At the meeting "in Salem Alious Danuars" it was voted "to Chuse 3 meen on the aboue Com'tt—Mr. Daniel Gardner Mr. Jesper Needham Able Mackingtier *Voted* to ad 2 Men to the above Committee David Goldthwait Mr. Nathan procter to be aded to the Said Committee."

Another meeting was called the next month, March 16th, and this warrant gives the new name "the Second Parish in the Destrict of Danuers." It calls for "a Rat for the Rev. Mr. Benj:a Prescotts Salary" and inquires "if the Inha: will alow any Money to Be paid to Mr. Prescott out of the Tresure without a order of the Committee." But this was voted down at the meeting. Thomas Goldthwait was chosen to Sweep ye Meeting house. At the June meeting it was "Voted to Rase Money to Defray the Charges to Carie on the Law Sute gainst the Rev. Mr. Prescott. Voted to Rase teen Pounds to Defray the Charges that May Rise to Make Answer to the Complaint." On August 3, 1752, "it Being put to Vote wheather the Inha: will fall in with the Proposal that the Rev:d Mr. Benja: Prescott Lay Before the Hon:l Cort of Asessions [Sessions] Seting at Salem on the Second Tusday of July Last and it Past in the Negative. Voted to Chuse a Committee to give Reasans if any they have why the Sum the Rev:d Mr. Benj:a Prescott Complaineth for Shall not Be granted. Voted to Chuse a Com:tt of 5 men to Make answare to the Cort of Assessions Voted

to Pay the former Com:tt that was Chose to Make answer to Mr. Prescotts Complaint against the Parish."

In September, 1752, the church warrant gives yet another name for the parish—"the South Parish in Danvers," and the inhabitants are notified "to assemble to Geather at the Meeting House to Know the Minds of the Parish Wheather they will Chuse a Committee to Make answer To the Complaint that the Rev.nd Mr. Benja: Prescott Lay Before the Honl: Cort of Assessions that was Holden on the Last Tusday of March Last 1752 and was Continued to the Cort of Assessions Held at Salem on the Second Tusday of July Last and was then heard and Further Continued to the Hon:l Cort of Assessions to Be Holden at Newbary on the Last Tusday of This Instant Sept: and also to Raise Money to pay the Charges that has or Shall arise to Cari on the Lawfull Sute that Mr. Benja: Prescott hase Commenced against the Parish and also to Raise Money to pay the Com:tt or Comm.tts For their Service. By order of the Committee,

David Goldthwait Clark. Danuers Sept. 22nd 1752."

THE FINAL JUDGMENT OF THE COURT.

"On reading & Considering the Report of the Comittee appointed by the Court in July last to Hear the Rev. Mr. Prescott & his Parish Respecting his Salary which Report (the Consideration whereof was Continued to this Time) is in the following word, Viz: We, the subscribers, being appointed by the Hono:ble Court of Sessions, to hear the Parties & Examine the Severall payments, made by the third Parish in Salem, now the South Parish in Danvers, to the Rev. Mr. Prescott Since the first of April 1727 to the 12th of August, 1752, and the Value of Said Payment when they were made & Compute what may be due on his Contract, do Report there is due to Mr. Prescott to the 12th of August, 1752, the above Coll:a which is £603-0-9 lawfull money;

Salem, Sept. 20-1752.

Joseph Blaney
Ichabod Plaisted
Samuel Barnard

Copy given to the Par:h Assessors, Jan. 1- 1753.

But at the Rev. Mr. Prescotts motion the Said Committee now made a Computation only to the 31st day of Decem. 1751, the day of the date of his Petition, deducting £41-2-3 out of the Delet. of the amount by which the first Computation was made for Seven months and 12 days, Salary, and deducting also £63-14-10d, out of the Credit of Said Accounts which last Sum the sd Parish had paid Mr. Prescott in 1752 & for which they must be Allowed in their Accounting with him for his Service after the sd. 31st of Dec. 1751. And so the Coll:n due to him is £625-13-4d and then the Sd. Parish Committee Objected to two Articles, Am:o to £30-13-7 for his firewood Charged to the Debts of Said Parish in the Said Accounts as wrongly charged. And after a hearing thereupon the Court Orders the Said Sum of £30-13-7 to be deducted out of the sd. Ball:a of £625-3-4. So that by the said last Computation & this deduction there Remains due to Mr. Prescott £594-19-9. And thereupon it is ordered that the Said Reports with the Said Amendments & deduction be accepted and the Court appoints Joseph Osborn, Jasper Needham Ezekiel Marsh Jun:r John Proctor David Goldthwait (being the assessors of the sd. Parish) to Asses & Apportion the Said Sum of £594-19-9 on the Poles & Estates of the Inhabitants of sd. Parish in manner as is by law directed for Raising Other Public Charges and the sd. Assesors are directed to Cause the same to be Levied by a Warrant or Warrants under their hands & Seals directed to a Proper Officer or Officers, Commanding him or them to Levy & Collect the sd. Sum of £594-19-9 According to law and to pay the same to the Rev. Mr. Prescott for the arrearages of his Sallery to the 31st day of Dec. 1751."

At the meeting on Sept. 25 another committee of five men was chosen, 20 pounds was voted for the expense of defending the law suit and "ten pounds Lawfull money to pay ye Committee for ther Servis and ye overplush money if any their be to Remain for the Use of ye Parish.

John Proctor, Clark."

The Warrant of December 1st 1752 asks the inhabitants "to know what Sum they will give the Rev:d Mr. Pres-

cott for this present year and what Sum for the difficiency of mony which lays in dispute between Mr. Prescott and Said Inhabitants in Case he will give them a discharge for the difficiency of maony he has Complained to the Court of Assesions for And will take a discharge from Ministering any longer to them in Holy things, And Also to know if the Inhabitants will dismiss the Rev. Mr. Prescott from Carrying on the Work of the Ministry any longer Among Said Inhabitants for the time to come or any other way that the Inhabitants shall think proper. By Order of the Committee.

David Goldthwaite Clark"

Danvers December 1st 1752.

And at the meeting on December 11th, it was "Voted to Raise Mony for the Rev. Mr. prescott for the difficiency of mony which he has Complained to the Court of Assesions for in Case Mr. prescott will give the Parish a Discharge for said Difficiency & will take a discharge from Ministering any longer to them in Holy Things. Voted, to Give the Rev. Mr. Benjamin Prescott the Sum of Three Hundred and fifty pounds lawfull mony in Case he will give the Inhabitants a Discharge for the difficiency of mony that he has Complained to the Court of Assesions for and will take a Discharge from said Inhabitants from Carrying on the work of Ministry any longer among Said Inhabitants. Voted that Mr. Joseph Osborn, Mr. Mal:i Felton & Mr. Sam:ll Cook be the Comittee to wait upon the Rev:d Mr. prescott to present him with the above vote & to desire his answer before the time to which this meeting may be adjourned." Mr. Prescott declined this offer and at the adjourned meeting held Dec. 22nd, 1752, it was "Voted to Dismiss the Clause in the Warrant for raising Any Salary for the Rev'd Mr. Prescott for this year. Voted, to dismiss the Rev:d Mr. Prescott from carrying On the Work of the Ministry any longer Among Said Inhabitants.

Voted to Chuse a Committee to wait on the Rev:d Mr. prescott to Inform him that the parish has dismissed him from the Work of the Ministry any longer among them."

The inhabitants were notified to meet on January 1st,

1753 "To Know if the Inhabitants will Join in with the order of the Court For the present Assesors of the South or Second parish in Danvers, To Assess the Said Inhabitants for the Sum Ordered by the Court to be paid to the Rev:d Mr. prescott or to know if they think proper to Chuse any other Assesors or any other way they think proper. Also to Know the minds of the Inhabitants relating to Mr. Prescotts Salary for the Year 1752." Apparently the people bowed to the order of the court for on "January 5th 1753 Voted to Fall in with the order of Court to Asses the Inhabitants for the Sum to be raised to make up Mr. Prescotts Ballance agreeable to the order of the Court. Voted To allow The Rev:d Mr. Prescott the Sum of Sixty Six pounds thirteen Shillings and four pence Lawfull mony for his Salary for the year 1752." Essex ss—To Joseph Newhall Parish Collector—

Greeting

We the Subscribers being Appointed and ordered by the Justices of his Majesties Court of General Sessions of the peace, begun and held at Salem, within and for the County of Essex on the last Tuesday of December Anno Dom: 1752. To Assess and Apportion the Sum of Five Hundred Ninety Four pounds Nineteen Shillings and Nine pence on the Poles and Estates of the South Parish in Danvers for the Arrearages of the Rev:d Mr. Prescott's Salary to the 31st day of December 1751. Accordingly have proportioned the Same together with his Said Prescotts Salary for the year 1752. On the Inhabitants February 14- 1753." The rest of the warrant follows the usual form.

The next warrant asks, among other things "to know if the Inha:a will Give the Rev:ed Mr. Benj:a Prescott the Sum Voted him in Fortinine & Fifty & Fifty one over & above the Corts order In Case Mr. Prescott will Take a Discharge from the Parish from ministren any longer to them in holy things & will give the Parish a Discharge in Full for the Time past and for the Futer & where as the Collectors Chosen Last have Received ye Lists of Raits from the Assessors Relating to the corts Order in Decem: Lasts to See if the Inha: if the P. Colectors Desire ye

Same, will Chuse a person or persons to Collect the P. Tax the P. Collectors paying a part to Wards Hyering a person to Collect the Same." And at the meeting on March 7th, 1753, "it being put to vot Whither the Inhabitants will Give ye Rev:d Mr. Benj:n Prescott thirty five pounds, seventeen shillings and six pence, it Being ye over plus of £80 as was Setled By the Cort & Voted on his Salary in the Year 1749: 1750: 1751, Provided Mr. Prescott will Give ye Inha: a full Discharge of all Debts, Dues & Demands in any ways Arising from April the 1st 1712 to Dece:r ye 31st, 1751 provided, also that Mr. Prescott will take a Discharge from the Parish from Ministering to them in Holy things it past in the Affirmative." On Dec. 17th, 1753, "it being put to vote whither the Inhabitants will Raise any money for the Rever:nd Mr. Benjamin Prescotts Salery by way of Tax on said Inhabitants for this present year & it past in the Negative. It being put to vote whither the Inhabitatns will Call a Council To Consider & advise for Measures of peace in the Parish by Chusing a Committee & it past in the affirmative." On March 18th, 1754 "It being put to Vote whither the Inhabitants will Raise the Sum of one Hundred & Thirty three pounds Six Shillings & eight pence to make up the Courts judgements & it pas:d in the Negative. It being put to Vote whither the Inhabitants will raise the Sum of one Hundred pounds to make up the Courts Judgements & other uses in the parish & it past in the affirmative. Voted Thomas Goldthwait Saxton."

At the adjournment of the meeting on Thursday March 21st, 1754, "It being put to Vote whither the Parish will Hire a person or persons; to Preach to said Inhabitants for Three months Next upon the Parishes Cost; It pass:d in the Affirmative. Voted To pay the person or persons that preach by Contribution. Voted That the parish Committee (Viz) Mr. Samuel King Mr. Nathan Procter Mr. Ezekiel Marsh Junr: Mr. Joseph Golethwait & John Epes Be Impowered to Look out a person or persons to preach To Said parish for three months next; & take Care of the Contribution money which was voted for the person

or persons Then the Remainder to be paid out of the Treasury And that the Sd. Committee be accountable for the Same to ye sd. Parish." A few days later the following letter was received from Mr. Prescott:

To the Inhabitants of the South parish in Danvers, at there Meeting, Mch. 24, 1754.

Danvers March 24, 1754

Dear Neighbors,

I would let you know, that when, yesterday, your Committee was with me to Confere about a Clause in the warrant, upon which you are now mett which Relates to the Procuring one to preach To you at the Parishes Cost—they asked me if I were Free to it, To which I replied I had no objection against it, But Considering my Circumstances at present I should take it kindly if they would, but upon there further Asking me whither I was Willing to relinquish my Salery for the Term of three months & Pleading that the Parish were Not able to pay an other for preaching & pay my Salary too Tho I told them, that if I relinquished my Salary to Enable them to pay another for preaching, his Preaching would be at my Cost, and not the Parishes, & so Inconsistent with said Clause in the warrant Yet nevertheless, In the Close Treety offered to renew the proposall made to you December 22:1752, Which tho I gave you in writing, yet herewith, I now send you a Copy of, and which begins thus Viz: Tho my Quitting my Ministry &c and hereby I do now renew that offer & proposal, & that the three months then to have Commenced January first—Shall begin now, or as soon as you please, And as to any Matter & thing, relating to my Salery or Support that are not yet adjusted, I stand ready to Leave them to the Determination of Three or five Indifferent men to be by us mutually Chosen or to the Determination of the Council that Shall be Concerned for the ordination of a Pastor over you Incase at the End of Said Term you Shall have Chosen one to be So ordained.

I Pray God direct you into the ways that shall please him, & am

Your affectionate Pastor, Benjamin Prescott.

To the Inhabitants of the South Parish in Danvers at there Meeting Dec. 22nd, 1752.

Dear Brethren & Neighbors,

I rec:d the copy of your uote for the Payment of £350: to me, upon the conditions therein Expressed, & tho I Cante

think it safe or prudent for me, under all Circumstances to pay any re-gard to it, Yete upon this Occasion Thereby make you the following Offers, Viz: 1. That if you will pay or Secure to me the payment of the Ballance which has been found to me Due by the Honu:able Comittee of the Honourable Court of Sessions, as it was reported at there Session in Newbury the Laste September, & also the Sums which your uotes for my Salery in the year 1749, 1750 & 1751 Exceed the Sum of £80. Originally by you Granted for my support according as Sd Honour:ble Comittee Computed £80: & also payment for the Current year, what Shall be found wanting of my salery at the rate of £76:10:4 per year for the three Quarters of a year all ready Past I will Discharge you from all Dues Debts & demands from me my heirs or Assigns which have arisen from my first settlement in the Ministry to Janr: 1, 1753. 2. If you fall in with this Proposall, Tho my Quitting my ministry over you is not so Light a matter in my understanding, as perhaps it may be in some of yours, yet I trust it will not be unwarantable for me under all Circumstances & particularly Considering my frequent & great indisposition of Body To propose & offer to you and therefore I do hereby propose & offer That I will Desist from my ministerial Labour amongst you, for & Dureing the space of three months, from & after the first of January next, & relinquish my right as your Minister to any Salery for sd. Term, Provided you procure a Suitable person or Persons to supply my Desk Dureing sd. Term & Further, Incase at the End of sd Three months, the Major part of the Inhabitants Shall be Disposed to Call & Settle another Minister, they shall be at there liberty, & upon there so doing I will discharge them of Ministring any thing, thence forward for my support, Provided it Shall be at my option, without offence to refuse, to return to my Ministeriall Labours amongst you, Tho you Should Then Desire it of me, If I myself Shall think it will be most agreeable to my Duty & Comfort & your wellfare, Wholly To Quitt my Ministry—I pray God direct your Thoughts, & Lead you into the paths of Truth, Righteousness & peace for his own Name sake and am your

Affectionate Pastor

Benj:m Prescott.

(To be continued)

BOOK REVIEWS

HARVARD. *Four Centuries and Freedoms*. By Charles A. Wagner. 1950, 326 pp., octavo, cloth, illus., New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, Inc. Price, \$5.00.

Mr. Wagner, who is Sunday editor of the *New York Mirror* and teaches journalism at New York University, held a Nieman Fellowship at Harvard. This book is a panorama of 400 years in which the author's enthusiasm for Harvard is apparent, yet he does not hesitate to criticise an occasional lapse in the conduct of affairs. The illustrations go all the way from H. R. Shurtleff's sketch of the Yard where cows still browsed there in 1638 to photographs of the great University of today. A most interesting history, well written. Recommended to all libraries.

TIME IN NEW ENGLAND. 106 Photographs by Paul Strand. Text selected by Nancy Newhall. 1950, 248 pp., quarto, cloth, illus., New York: Oxford University Press. Price, \$6.00.

This unusual book combines illustrations and history and will be read with interest by many. It is more than a picture book and is well-named "An Autobiography of New England." The wonderful illustrations are from photographs by one of the greatest living artists and are striking examples of the true feeling of the New England land and people. The four parts of the book are chronological and each of the eighteen themes deals with some important historical event. Mrs. Newhall, who is a native of Swampscott, Massachusetts, a graduate of Smith College, has been curator of photography at the Museum of Modern Art, New York. Recommended to all libraries.

MESSRS. IVES OF BRIDGEPORT. *The Saga of America's Greatest Toymakers*. By Louis H. Hertz. 1950, 159 pp., octavo, cloth, illus., Wethersfield, Conn.: Mark Haber & Company. Price, \$3.75.

This is a complete story of America's great dynasty of pioneer toymakers, a book which has been awaited a long time by those who remember the fascination of "Ives toys." The Ives family and their contribution to the American scene

is told in detail, accompanied by scores of illustrations of the early toys which they made. Ives trains were popular from the Civil War to the 1920's and the business was a flourishing one. The author has written other books on this subject and this new one will be welcomed by all people who were eager purchasers of these interesting contributions to toydom. Recommended to all libraries.

ADDRESSES UPON THE AMERICAN ROAD. 1948-1950. By Herbert Hoover. 1951, 221 pp., octavo, cloth, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press. Price, \$3.50.

Mr. Hoover's counsel to the nation in the past two years—his speeches, official letters, press statements and published articles, are now available in this single volume. The increasing import of his convictions upon the domestic and foreign policies makes this book of timely and unusual significance. In his forty-eight addresses, he covers a wide range of subjects, including reorganization of government, world peace, rearmament and disarmament, "the miracle of America," federal aid to education, old-age assistance, responsible citizenship, how to save tax money, benevolent and youth organizations, advertising and football. These words by a former President should be on every library shelf.

THE
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VOL. LXXXVII—JULY, 1951

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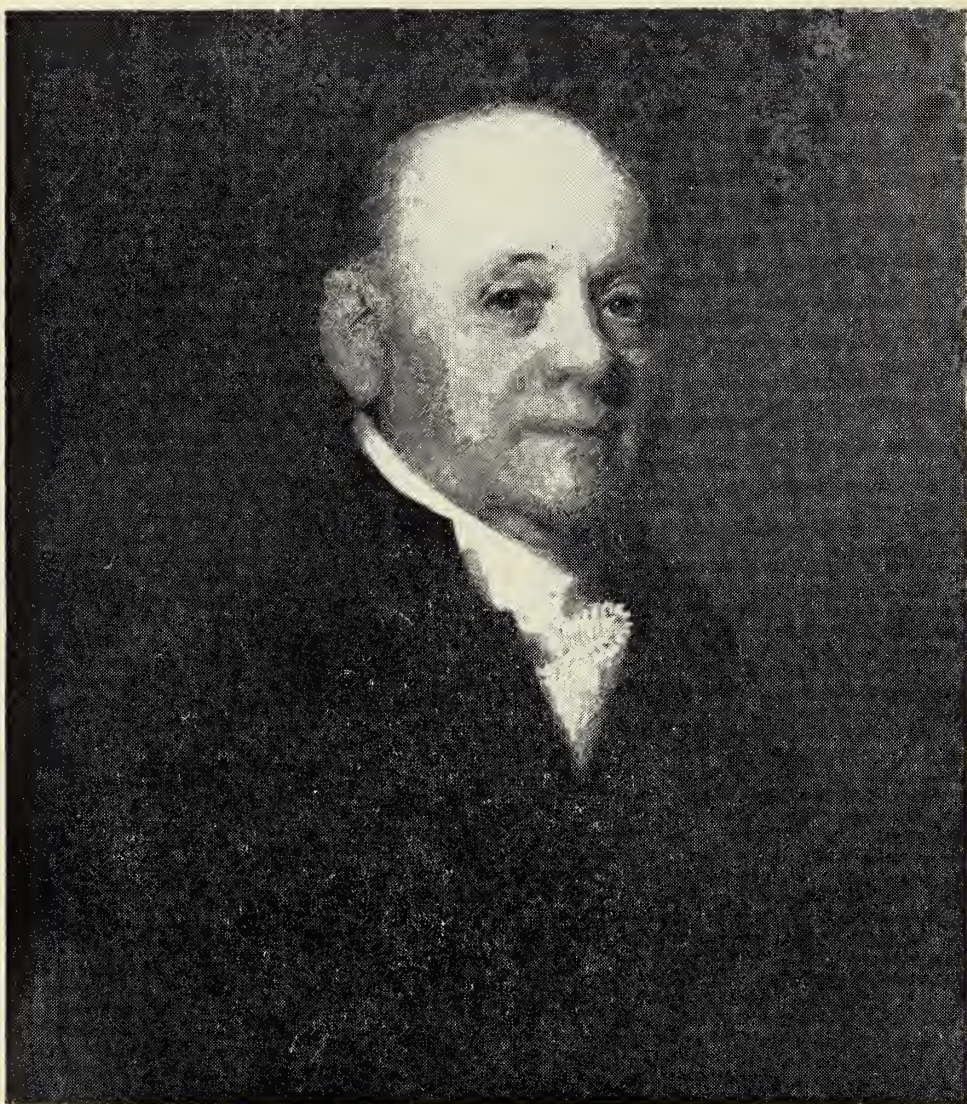
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WARD CHIPMAN, Sr.

From the portrait by Gilbert Stuart, in possession of Mr. Roland Gray

ESSEX INSTITUTE

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

VOL. LXXXVII

JULY, 1951

No. 3

WARD CHIPMAN DIARY: A LOYALIST'S RETURN TO NEW ENGLAND IN 1783

Edited by Joseph B. Berry

EDITOR'S FOREWORD

Ward Chipman, a Loyalist, and a lawyer and judge of outstanding ability, was born at Marblehead, Massachusetts in 1754. He graduated from Harvard in 1770. As his father, John Chipman, a noted "barrister-at-law," had died in 1768, the son studied law in Cambridge and Boston under Attorney General Jonathan Sewall and Daniel Leonard. He lived at Sewall's home and regarded him as "more than a father." In March 1776, Chipman left Boston for Halifax, having assigned all his property, both real and personal, to his family, which consisted of his mother, four sisters, and a brother, who remained at their home in Marblehead. From Halifax he went to England, but returned to New York in 1777, where he served the British cause as deputy muster-master general. Leaving New York for England late in 1783 with Sir Guy Carleton and the British troops, he had made a sixteen-day journey in September of that year from New York to Boston, Salem, Marblehead and return, an account of which he wrote up in the *Diary*¹ printed here. The next year, 1784, he settled in New Brunswick, Canada,

1 The term "diary" is used here as the manuscript has been known from at least 1884 as the Chipman *Diary*; Chipman himself describes the manuscript as a "Journal." See page 240.

where he held important governmental offices, including the post of His Majesty's agent for two Anglo-American commissions, which dealt with the St. Croix River boundary question arising out of the Jay Treaty and the Treaty of Ghent. In 1809, he was appointed a judge of the New Brunswick Supreme Court. From 1823 he also served as president and commander-in-chief of the Province of New Brunswick until his death a year later. He married Elizabeth Hazen in 1786, by whom he had an only child, Ward Chipman, Jr. (1787-1851). Ward Chipman, Sr. made several visits from Canada to his family in Massachusetts, and had many friends in the United States. He died at Fredericton, New Brunswick, in 1824.²

Several printed mentions of the Chipman *Diary* appeared in 1884, but in 1920 it had temporarily been lost sight of.³ The present owner of the *Diary* is Roland Gray, Esquire, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, who is a direct descendant of Elizabeth Chipman Gray, a sister of Ward Chipman. The *Diary* as here printed follows the manuscript except for modern punctuation, minor editing for clarity, and the omission of page numbers. Statements in the *Diary* together with biographical facts about Ward Chipman fix the date of the manuscript as 1783. Chipman wrote his *Diary* not daily, but at several sittings, both during and after his journey. The time covered by the *Diary* runs from Sunday 21 September through Monday 6 October.

² Bert Lee Chipman, *The Chipman Family* (Winston-Salem, N. C., 1920); R. Manning Chipman, "The Chipman Lineage," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, XI (1872), 263-307; W. O. Raymond, editor, *Winslow Papers, 1776-1826* (St. John, N. B., 1901); E. Alfred Jones, *The Loyalists of Massachusetts* (London, 1930), has reproductions of the Stuart portraits of Ward Chipman, Sr. and Jr., though reversed in title; Joseph W. Lawrence, *Judges of New Brunswick* (St. John, N. B., 1907); Isabel M. Calder has written Chipman's life for the *DAB*; *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, V (Class of 1711), has an account of Chipman's grandfather, the Rev. John Chipman. Mr. Roland Gray has in his possession the Gilbert Stuart portraits of Ward Chipman, Sr. and Ward Chipman, Jr., painted about 1808.

³ Edwin M. Stone, *Our French Allies* (Providence, 1884), 264; George C. Mason, *Reminiscences of Newport* (Newport, R. I., 1884), 250, 369; Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, LIV (1920-1921), 336, footnote 4.

A summary of dates with the places where Chipman lodged simplifies the text and is as follows:

Sunday 21 September	Delancey's Mills, New York
Monday 22 "	Norwalk, Connecticut
Tuesday 23 "	Wallingford, "
Wednesday 24 "	Suffield, "
Thursday 25 "	Spencer, Massachusetts
Friday 26 "	Boston, "
Saturday 27 "	Salem, "
Sunday 28 "	Marblehead, "
Monday 29 "	Salem, "
Tuesday 30 " through	
Wednesday 1 October	Boston, "
Thursday 2 "	Providence, Rhode Island
Friday 3 " through	
Saturday 4 "	Newport, "
Sunday 5 "	enroute via packet
Monday 6 "	Chipman's quarters in New York.

A comparison of Chipman's route, in regard to mileage, with the routes given in *Weatherwise's Town and Country Almanack for . . . 1783*, shows practically identical figures for distances between towns. Ten of the taverns mentioned by Chipman are listed in the *Almanack* as "Houses of Entertainment."

WARD CHIPMAN DIARY

[September] 21st [1783]

*All arrangements being made and every precaution
[Unnumbered footnotes are Chipman's.]

(but enquiry about the road) being taken, we mounted the Phaeton, meaning T. A. C.⁴ & myself about 1/2 past

* Vid: Sir H. Clinton's letter October 1777-1779? 1782.

4 Thomas Aston Coffin (1754-1810) was a friend and fellow Loyalist of Chipman's. Graduating from Harvard in 1772, he left Boston two or three years after the Loyalist evacuation of 1776. He was Secretary to Sir Guy Carleton in New York during the Revolution, Secretary and Comptroller of Accounts in Lower Canada after 1783, under Sir Guy Carleton, Lord Dorchester, and at one time Commissary General to the British troops at Quebec. He died in London. Raymond, Winslow

12 o'clock to go out to Stowarts to prepare dinner for Messrs. Parker & Guild at 3 o'clock. But Stewart's Watch like his other matters going very wrong,* he had finish'd dinner before we arrived. But having expected us in the morning, such preparations were made as afforded us all a good dinner, which being over and our Pistols loaded & hands washed,† we safely passed the Barrier, Kings-bridge⁵ & Rebel Sentries‡. And now happened the first disaster. Ascending the hill beyond the Bridge, the iron thimble belonging to one of the Breastplate[s] broke. The Road was so gullied with the late Rain that we were obliged to take out the horses & all hands of us were employed in dragging the Phaeton up the hill. We soon got on safe to Delancey's Mills,⁶ where a Major Sumner⁷ belonging to Milton in Massachusetts commanded. He is a genteel young man, received us very kindly & entertained us very hospitably, gave us Coffee & bread & butter, all very good, and a good matrass with Sheets & Blankets. We retir'd

* N.B. I'll never xxxx x xxxxx [sic.]

† Remember to put your rings on your Fingers as soon as you have washed.

‡ Stewart.

Papers; James H. Stark, *The Loyalists of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1910 [1907]); William Sumner Appleton, *Gatherings Toward a Genealogy of the Coffin Family* (Boston, 1896); Mass. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings, Second Series*, III (1886-1887), 88, footnote 1. The identity of "Messrs. Parker & Guild" has not been established.

5 The "Barrier" was a fortification across a part of lower Manhattan Island, built in 1775, which the British later strengthened. Kings Bridge or Kingsbridge is at the sharp southward swing of the Harlem River. A good map for the New York part of this journey is in Henry P. Johnston, "The Campaign of 1776," *Memoirs of the Long Island Historical Society* (1878), III. See also Alexander C. Flick, editor, *History of the State of New York* (N. Y., 1933), IV, 269.

6 Delancey's Mills was on the east bank of the Bronx, present Bronx, River, midway between Kings Bridge and New Rochelle.

7 Job Sumner (1754-1789), a major in the Connecticut Line, and a graduate of Harvard in 1778. Wm. Sumner Appleton, *Record of the Descendants of William Sumner of Dorchester, Mass., 1636* (Boston, 1879), 10, 176; *Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War* (Boston, 1907), XV, 256; Bryce Metcalf, *Original Members of the Cincinnati* (Strasburg, Va., 1938), 302.

about 9 o'clock & when we could* get to Sleep, slept very sound till daylight. We met here a young man, a Surgeon in the American Army, by the name of Storr.⁸ I suspect he must belong to Connecticut. He, however, behaved very decently, play'd back-Gammon in the Ev'g with Coffin & seem'd dispos'd to make us happy. I enquired of him the nature of the land & Country where we were. He replied he had been there but a short time & had had no opportunity to *see the world*.† In one respect we were unfortunate here; we could get no grain for our horses in the Ev'g.‡ We, however, got some Corn in the morn'g, but were so late before it was procured, that it was 1½ past six before we set off in the morning. We supposed we could easily breakfast at Rye, but after riding till 8 o'clock & finding ourselves at the 17 mile Stone when we supposed ourselves 24 miles§ from New York, and losing the road for want of *proper* enquiry, we were very glad to reach Roland's tavern at New Rochelle 25 miles from N York at 9 o'clock.|| (Mr. Pintard's house at New Rochelle is very pleasantly situated & appeared to be in good order.) Mr. Guild, who is really without Guile, propos'd a beef Steak with our Tea (of which we took a Canister with us). We all eat very heartily & set off in high Spirits intending to be in Stamford at 2 o'clock & to reach Fairfield at night, where we should see Mr. Eliot & his little wife, formerly Polly Pyncheon,⁹ a favorite acquaintance of mine & Tom's. We had scarce rode a mile when we

* N.B. I'll never drink Coffee or Tea for Supper again.

† Vid. *Tristram Shandy* vol. p. ch.

‡ We ought as we proposed to have taken some grain with us from Stewart's for this night.

§ We were 4 miles at least out of our way by going to Delancey's Mills, but we took this Rout not thinking we should be safe [on] the common post Road.

|| N.B. When 2 Roads meet & you ask which is the Road to the place you are going to, always enquire what place the other road leads to.

8 Justus Storrs of Mansfield, Connecticut. He is incorrectly listed in J. M. Toner, *Medical Men of the Revolution* (Philadelphia, 1876), as Justice Storrs. *The Record of Connecticut Men During the War of the Revolution*, Henry P. Johnston, editor, (Hartford, 1889), 157, 315, 373; Metcalf, *Cincinnati*, 300.

9 See note 21, page 219.

found one of our horses had lost a Shoe.* This, however, did not detain us, but we soon found the Roads intolerably bad, the Country barren, poor, and desolate, not a house with a whole window, many without any at all, every mark of wretchedness & poverty universally presented itself. We did not wonder that this part of the Country was infested with Robbers, more commonly called Skinners;¹⁰ it appeared fit for no other species of Inhabitants. We passed thro New Rochelle, Maroneck¹¹ & Rye with tolerable composure & good humour. The Roads soon after became intolerable. Neither Tom or I dared to speak to each other; we became inclined very fast to irritability. I got out of the Phaeton & walked up the hills. Tom began to swear; I did not wonder at it. Had the whole siftings of the creation on the Evening of the sixth day been placed together with the ingenuity of omniscience, a worse Road would not have been formed. Guild & Parker were impatient to get on; they were on horseback & did not mind the badness of the Roads. They were, however, very attentive to us & amused themselves with playing pranks with each other's horses, while Tom & I were sullenly creeping over the Vilest of all possible Roads & countries. With great exertions we reached Horseneck¹² about 1½ past 1 o'clock. Here we were introduced by Mr. Parker to Genl. Lincoln,¹³ who was on

* We ought to have had them all new shod before we set out on such a Journey.

10 *A Dictionary of American English on Historical Principles* defines the term "Skinner" as follows: During the Revolutionary War, a member of a marauding gang usually roaming in territory between the British and American lines in Westchester County, New York, and professing allegiance to the American cause. James Fenimore Cooper uses this word in his *The Spy*.

11 Mamaroneck, New York.

12 Greenwich, Connecticut. For good maps of the balance of Chipman's journey, see William Guthrie, *A New System of Modern Geography* (Phil, 1794-1795, 2v.), including the *Atlas*.

13 Benjamin Lincoln, a major-general of the Continental Army, who was serving at this time as secretary of war for the Congress of the Confederation. A little over four months before this chance meeting with Chipman, writing to his wife on 10 May 1783, Lincoln had said, "I am sorry to observe in the Boston newspapers so many virulent articles against the

his way from Boston to Phila, & had stop'd at Knaps¹⁴ to dine. We continued so full of the prospect of lodging at Fairfield, that for a considerable time we hesitated to eat a morsel for fear of being detained; Parker at last gave way & ordered in the cold Beef Steak after it had been taken off. Guild fell too with him & by the force of their example Tom & myself, not very obstinate on such occasions, made a decent dinner. We ordered in a bottle of our good old Madeira of wh we had taken along six, & very pleasantly finished it with Genl. Lincoln, who was very affable & polite & had much conversation with Tom about old Boston Friends. Here waited some time for another shoe to be put on to the same horse, bad look out! We mounted about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 2 o'clock and, *horrible dictu pejus equitatu*, found the Roads still as bad as ever. Parker chang'd with me about a mile, but soon grew tir'd of it. I walk'd on and within about a mile of Stamford set down & wrote the paragraph on the 5th page [which reads], 4 o'clock, Monday P.M., within 1 mile of Stamford I set down upon a Stone, waiting for the Phaeton to come up. Poor Tom, I pity him; to drive over such Roads is worse than walking a foot the whole way. If ever I ride this Road again, I'll be d——d [end of paragraph]. The Country hitherto very bad & bearing all the marks of the desolation of war, Stamford was the first plain level place we came to & appeared to be a pleasant town & the land better¹⁵ than we had before seen. Here we call'd at Mr. Lloyd's¹⁶ about 4 o'clock, where we found Dr. Lloyd & his

Tories. We are not only driving from us many men who might be very useful, but we are obliging them to people Nova Scotia" Francis Bowen, "Life of Benjamin Lincoln," in *The Library of American Biography*, Jared Sparks, editor (Boston, 1847), Second Series, XIII, 377.

14 Knapp's Tavern at Greenwich is now known as "Putnam Cottage"; it is owned by the local chapter of the D.A.R., and maintained as a museum. Spencer P. Mead, *The History of the Town of Greenwich* (N. Y., 1911), 41, 175; Florence S. Marcy Crofut, *Guide to the History and Historic Sites of Connecticut* (New Haven, 1937), 117-118.

15 Written in pencil to this point, the *Diary* continues in ink to the end.

16 John, Dr. James, and Henry Lloyd were brothers; John, a merchant in Stamford, and Dr. James, a Boston physician,

Brother Henry. It was really pleasant to see how happy these Brothers appeared after so long a separation. I could not but anticipate the purpose of our visit to Boston. After shifting our horses, we proceeded for Norwalk, pass'd thro' Middlesex, the Roads much better, tho' still bad. The houses & the Country very much resembled the Towns of Lynn & Malden in Massachusetts. [lower half of page cut out; the top of the next page begins,] attempt to reduce the country. The houses were set on fire on both sides the River,¹⁷ wh runs thro' the Town for 1 ½ mile[s], a few only being saved where some old men remained at home. Many houses are now rebuilt & the place seems to be recovering this misfortune. A little after Dark, we put up at Betts's, a very decent Tavern. They gave us a good supper & good beds, & we rested very comfortably. Just before we reached [lower half of page cut out, and upper half of the next page; the lower part begins,] Coffin and myself rose a little after 5 & got well under way by Sunrise. There had been a great Frost during the night, which made the morning rather chilly. We left Guild & Parker asleep. The Roads were rather better than the day before. From the top of the hill above Sauticut¹⁸ Bridge, about 4 miles from Norwalk, there is a very pretty prospect. We pass'd a new meeting house at Green's farm,¹⁹ about 6 miles from Norwalk, erected in the place of that burnt by the Refugees in 1779. [upper half of page cut out; the lower half begins,] houses that were burnt on that foolish expedition in 1779. A little before 9 o'clock we arrived at Fairfield, which is a fine level Country & appears very fertile. This must have been a very beautiful Town before it was burnt, the road a perfect Bowling Green. We stop'd at Nicolls & got a very good breakfast, excellent Cream, Coffee, Toast, a beef steak & some of our own Tea. Here Parker & Guild

remained in this country during the Revolution, but Henry, a prominent figure in Boston, joined the Loyalist evacuation of 1776 and returned toward the close of the war. Jones, *Loyalists*.

17 The Norwalk River.

18 Saugatuck.

19 Part of the present town of Westport.



MRS. WILLIAM GRAY (Elizabeth Chipman)

From the portrait by Gilbert Stuart, in possession of Mr. Roland Gray

joined us again. We set off about 10 o'clock & call'd upon Mrs. Squires,²⁰ a Daughter of Dr. Eliot's, a few minutes, the house about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile from where we breakfasted. About a mile further, a few Rods out of the road, Tom & myself made the visit to our old Friend, Mrs. Eliot.²¹ She was gratified very much at our calling, particularly with Tom, whom she seem'd overjoy'd to see. We found her very happy; she has 5 children, lives in a house very pleasantly situated & tho' she looks much older, retains very much her former features. She urged us much to stay & pass the day. Mr. Eliot was on a visit to Boston. About 11 o'clock we all hands met in the great Road & proceeded thro' a very fine Country & delightful Roads. We pass'd thro' Stratfield, which is a pleasant little Village. From Stratford Mill hill, about six miles from Fairfield, is a most delightful view & very extensive. On one side you have a view of Greenfield, Fairfield & Stratfield, highly cultivated lands, fine orchards & the whole Country most delightfully watered. On the other side you have a view of the Town of Stratford, about 2 miles off. We proceeded to this town, which is really very pleasant and beautiful & has several very handsome houses. There was a peculiar neatness & cleanliness about them all. We went on to Stratford Ferry across Housatonic River, which is said to extend 150 miles into the Country.²² We cross'd the Ferry in a large Scow, into which we drove the Phaeton & horses. We all cross'd together, a Phaeton & 2 horses, 5 other horses & seven persons besides. The Road after we cross'd the ferry was somewhat rough, tho'

20 This Mrs. Squires was a sister-in-law of "our old Friend, Mrs. Eliot." Recorded in *Boston Marriages, 1752-1809* (page 441) under "Intentions—Marriages not recorded," Capt. Joseph Squire of Fairfield, Conn., & Mrs. Sally Eliot, Aug. 26, 1778; Walter Graeme Eliot, *A Sketch of the Eliot Family* (N. Y., 1887), 25-26.

21 Mary ("Polly" to Chipman) Pyncheon Eliot, daughter of Hon. Joseph Pyncheon of Boston, married in 1774 the Rev. Andrew Eliot, son of the Rev. Andrew Eliot, D.D., presbyter of the New North Church in Boston. Mrs. Elizabeth H. Schenck, *The History of Fairfield, Connecticut* (N. Y., 1905, 2v.), II, 449.

22 This report of the length of the Housatonic River is notably accurate; today's mileage, 148 miles, is virtually the same as given by Chipman. *Webster's Geographical Dictionary* (Springfield, Mass., 1949).

not bad; we pass'd on to Milford about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles beyond the Ferry, where we arrived about 2 o'clock. This Town appeared to be the largest we had yet pass'd thro, tho' many of the houses were decay'd. There are here two meeting houses & a Church. We stop'd at Mrs. Bryan's, a good house. We did not intend dining here, being, desirous to reach New Haven before dinner, but as Dinner was just prepared for the table, we set down. It would have done any body's heart good to see Tom Coffin eat Connecticut Salt Pork of which a very fine piece was boiled. We had also a very good Loin of Mutton roasted. The wine was vile. About 10 minutes after 2 o'clock, we left Milford & proceeded for New Haven, the Roads very good, tho' not so level as from Fairfield to Stratford. When we arrived at the top of the hill before you descend to the Town, the Landscape & prospect was really enchanting, the Spires, the College, the buildings, the River, the highly cultivated Fields & Orchards bending under the weight of fruit, the marshes cover'd with large Stacks of the finest salt hay, the rough hills & Forests the boundaries of the view on one side, the Sound & Long Island on the other—all together formed so variegated & pleasant a Scene most beautifully illumin'd by a western Sun, as I never before beheld. As we descended the hill & entered the town of New Haven, I was struck with the strong resemblance it bore to the entrance in to the town of Cambridge in Massachusetts Bay. We stop'd at a Tavern adjoining the entrance into Yale College Yard & having ordered refreshment for our horses, sallied forth to view the Town & College. Mr. Guild went on to the President's house to procure for us a view of the Library Apparatus &c. In the meantime, a young Gentleman, who saw Coffin & myself in the College Yard, most politely accosted us to know if we wished to see the Library &c., and immediately hurried to the President's house [and] returned with the Keys & two other young gentlemen, whom we supposed Students of the College, belonging to the Town (it was Vacation time). They carried us into the Library & Apparatus Room. After we came out, we met Mr. Guild

with the President of the College, Dr. Stiles,^{22a} who not knowing we had already seen the College, came to wait upon us for the purpose, desirous (as he said) to show us every mark of respect. He was very obliging & polite & wished to exhibit every mark of attention. I was very desirous to converse $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour with him, but it being then 5 o'clock, and as we had to call at a house at some distance to deliver a letter from Major Upham²³ to his Daughter, we were obliged to quit the good Dr. very abruptly in the Street. What part of the Town of New Haven we saw was really beautiful & I much regretted I could pass so little time in it. About $\frac{1}{4}$ past 5 we set off for Wallingsford.²⁴ We pass'd thro' North Haven where a Vessel wh appeared to have been intended for a Privateer was just ready for launching. The Road to Wallingsford is very smooth, tho' somewhat heavy, being very sandy. The distance to that place from New Haven is 13 miles. This brought us into the night & it became very dark before we reached Whittlesea's at Wallingsford, the only unpleasant circumstance since we set out. We, however, arrived safe there $\frac{1}{4}$ before 8 o'clock, got a decent supper & went to bed. Wallingford appeared to be a pleasant Town of Considerable extent, but as we pass'd thro' it in the Evening, we had but an imperfect idea of it. It is upon the top of a hill & commands an extensive prospect. Hitherto we had met with no instance of that

22a President Stiles' *Diary* under date of 5 April 1775, notes the death of Ward Chipman's grandfather, the Rev. John Chipman, Senior pastor of the Second Church in Beverly, on March 23rd. of that year. The entry for September 23, 1783, shows President Stiles at home writing letters before setting out on a journey the next day. Franklin Bowditch Dexter, editor, *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles, D.D., President of Yale College* (N. Y., 1901), I, 531; III, 95.

23 Joshua Upham (1741-1808), Loyalist and aide-de-camp to Sir Guy Carleton in New York, was a native of Brookfield, Mass. He graduated from Harvard in 1763, married and had at least three daughters; after the Revolution he served as a judge in the Province of New Brunswick. Joseph I. Foot, *An Historical Discourse . . . and Additional Notices* (West Brookfield, Mass., 1843 [1828]), 82-83. *Vital Records of Brookfield, Mass. to 1850*.

24 Chipman's inconsistency in the spelling of this name reflects the variations of spelling in geographical names as printed in contemporary "almanacks." Wallingford is correct.

impertinent Curiosity which is said to mark the people of this Country, but soon after we had got into Whittlesea's & seated by the fire made up in the Room by ourselves, in stalk'd a rude, raw, impertinent Fellow & after standing some minutes by the fire & examining us very accurately with his Eyes, at length walked round the Room & discovering our Pistols upon the table, immediately marched off. What were his suspicions or apprehensions I know not; he said nothing. We thought it remarkable that we had in none of the taverns yet found either bak'd Pumpkins or apples wh we were told we should live upon, & at Wallingsford, Mr. Parker and Guild with great difficulty procured Milk for Supper. At 6 o'clock on Wednesday morn'g we were in the Phaeton. Here we parted with Mr. Parker & Guild, who went on thro Durham to Middleton, we to Weathersfield thro' Worthington. These Gentlemen behaved with singular politeness & attention to us the whole way & it was with great regret we lost their Company. The distance from Wallingsford to Worthington is 12 miles, a most delightful Road the whole way, the prospect agreeably varied from Plains to hills, thro' some Woods, & the Country well cultivated. The houses in general better than we had yet pass'd. About a mile before you enter the Town of Worthington, you ascend what is called Lamentation Mountain, from which there is a beautiful & extensive Rural view & fine landscape. Kensington meeting house which you see from hence makes a very pretty object in the group. The entrance to the Town of Worthington is very pleasant. The town, tho' not large, is prettily & regularly laid out, & the houses very good, mostly new. We arrived at Ryley's in this town $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8 o'clock & breakfasted. Here, as at every house we had stop'd at, we were ask'd if we would have a beef-Steak for Breakfast, but this Tom & I declined for the first time here. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past nine we sett off for Hartford, 13 miles distant, the Country about us & the Roads very inviting. About 5 miles from Worthington is a wood most delightfully intersected; it reminded me of Kensington Gardens. When we arrived at the top of the hill from which we had the first view of Weathersfield, we were

delighted beyond expression. The appearance of the Town, tho' 2 miles distant, the Country about it so luxuriant & highly cultivated, & the River intersecting it, formed a most agreeable assemblage of objects. The Town of Weathersfield exceeded our expectation so far that it appeared almost like enchantment. We had entertained an idea only of a Country Village; it rather resembled a flourishing Sea port. We pass'd thro it without stopping. The Road from thence to Hartford is very pleasant and fine, so frequently inhabited as to have the appearance of a continued Street of a Town. The distance is about 3 miles. We entered Hartford a little before 12 o'clock & put up at Bull's.* It is really unaccountable, but both Tom & myself felt awkward; there was nothing to alarm us, every civility was shewn us, but we were shy of almost every one we saw, & I began to be really afraid we sh'd betray ourselves by our timidity. The Town is very pleasant & many good houses in it, tho' the State house has a very indifferent appearance. It appeared, however, upon the whole more like a metropolis than New Haven or Weathersfield, tho' I think the two last much the pleasantest Towns. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past one o'clock our horses & ourselves being refreshed (here we shaved & shifted ourselves), we set off for Suffield, intending to reach Springfield before night. We crossed Windsor²⁵ river† about 7 miles from Hartford in a Scow very pleasantly, & passed on to Suffield, which is 11 miles further. These last miles are on the most level & the straightest Road I ever saw; a few places are heavy with the sand, otherwise it is impossible there can be an easier road for a carriage. For 5 or six miles you pass thro' a wood where you constantly see at least a mile ahead the road as straight as an arrow; from this circumstance it at length became very tedious. We alighted at Suffield $\frac{1}{2}$ past 4 o'clock, our horses evidently fatigued. Anxious, however, to get on, we ordered them ready again in about an hour, when to our Surprise we found one of the main Springs of the Phaeton broke.

* David Bull, Hartford, d—d good Wine.

† A new Bridge building.

25 Today usually known as the Farmington River.

We deliberated what was to be done a few minutes. Tom's eagerness urged our going on with it fastened with a Strap or piece of Rope. Our fears, however, of it giving way altogether upon the road when no assistance might be near, the circumstance of the fatigue of the horses & some of them wanting shoes, at length prevailed, & we concluded to send Phaeton & horses to be thoro'ly repaired by an honest Blacksmith in the neighbourhood, & to remain at Suffield for the night, which we did at a Mr. Hitchcock's, where we supped pleasantly upon a Beef Steak as usual, tho't every thing was for the best & having dispatched a bottle of the good old Madeira which we had with us; went quietly to bed. In this house, Tom & I for the first time lodged in separate beds & very good ones. We rested so comfortably that we were up at 3 o'clock to call the Servants to feed the horses & with much exertion,* we had the Phaeton ready at 1/2 an hour before Sun-rise. The road from Suffield to Agawam River, 8 miles, is very good. We crossed this River in a few minutes in a Scow; there was formerly a bridge here, which was carried away by the Freshets last Spring. From this River to Springfield Ferry is about a mile, the Boat was ready, & we very soon found ourselves at Parson's Tavern in Springfield, 1/2 a mile on the other side the Ferry. To our Surprise we found the Supreme Court sitting here, and I felt for the first time an uneasiness lest we should be known. There was a great concourse of people & had they found us out, we should probably have been insulted. Tom tho't one man walk'd round him in a suspicious manner. I conceited I saw Violence and resentment the characteristic of them all. Our Landlord Parsons was a very good fellow. From him I learn'd that the Judges here were Cushing, Sewall, Sargeant & Sumner;²⁶ the three last I wished much to see, but tho't it upon the whole most prudent not to discover ourselves. We found that R. T.

* Servants are intolerably lazy, tho' our poor devils having rode trotting horses all the way, were I believe, in a pitiable situation *fundamentally*.

26 Chief Justice William Cushing, and Associate Justices Nathaniel Peaslee Sargeant, David Sewall, and Increase Sumner. *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, LXXXVI (Oct., 1950), 360.

Paine,²⁷ the Attorney General, who used to be a violent Character, was here. This was not a pleasant circumstance; to have been presented or indicted by the Grand Jury w'd have deranged us a little. We got our breakfasts & refreshed our horses & decamped precipitately, in *reality* tho', very deliberately & coolly to all appearance. Tom, who had look'd shy at all the whipping Posts and Stocks we had pass'd, observed with some satisfaction that he saw none here. There was a crowd about us when we got into the Phaeton; we, however, mounted very valiantly & drove off as fast as we could, glad to find ourselves safe. The Road from Springfield for 10 miles is very good, much like that from Windsor to Suffield. The 4 next miles to Graves's in Palmer are as vile, hilly & rocky as any we had pass'd. I walk'd the whole of the way & Tom the greatest part of it. We got to Palmer at 12 o'clock. This town before the war was called *Kingston*. The change of the name is a consequence of the violent aversion in the people of the *State* to any thing which sounds like monarchy, tho' this instance, I think, does no great credit to their good sense of magnanimity.²⁸ At $\frac{1}{4}$ past 1 o'clock we set off from Graves for Brookfield, the first 7 miles a tolerable Road, the next 3, bad beyond description. We were obliged to walk altogether. The remaining 7 to Col. Reed's Tavern at Brookfield were pretty good. We had seen no Country, no prospects that were pleasant or good, since we crossed Connecticut River; every thing was barren, sandy or rocky till we came to Brookfield. Upon the top of the hill as you ascend from

27 Chipman doubtless refers to Robert Treat Paine, one of the Massachusetts "Signers," and Attorney General of the State from 1780 to 1790, as a "violent Character," because Paine had urged the confiscation of certain Loyalists' property by the State. Ralph Davol, *Two Men of Taunton* (Taunton, Mass., 1912), 315.

28 Chipman too readily accepted a current story or "yarn" explaining the origin of the name of this town. The town of Palmer was never officially called Kingstown (Kingston); from its incorporation by the General Court, 31 January 1752, it was called Palmer. *Acts and Resolves of Massachusetts Bay, 1742-1756* (Boston, 1878 [reprint]), III, 599; for the origin of the name Kingstown, see J. H. Temple, *History of the Town of Palmer* (Palmer, Mass., 1889), 138-140.

the meeting house, there is a most delightful landscape comprehending fine orchards, fields of Corn, mowing ground & in general a very fertile soil, with a River running thro' them. It began to rain soon after we set off from Graves's & continued misty during the whole afternoon, so that this part of the Country by no means appeared to the advantage it would otherwise have done. We arrived at Reed's Tavern just as the sun was setting. We were anxious to get on to Spencer, but the weather was wet, the distance six miles, the Road bad. No moon,²⁹ it would soon become darker than Egypt. We did not know a step of the way. On the other hand, our only chance of reaching Boston to morrow was by pushing this Stage. We at once hired a man to conduct us, ordered the horses fed, & like too [*sic*] Fools or madmen set off for Spencer $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6 o'clock. We had not gone $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile befor it became so dark that we could not see our Guide, tho' immediately before us. Twice were we in jeopardy from gullied Roads & at length Tom & I got out of the Phaeton, each leading one horse thro' mud & mire up to our knees. After two hours trudging in this manner, we found we had advanced only 3 miles. We then Stop'd & borrow'd a Lanthorn & then commenc'd a most ludicrous scene. Reid, the Groom, was dismounted & ordered to carry the Lanthorn in front. This was soon found a very dangerous situation. He was then directed to hold it on the Driver's side, which he did. On went the horses, Reid limping and running in the most laughable manner to keep up. He being out of breath, William was ordered to succeed him; being afraid to be-mud his new boots, he kept at too respectable a distance to be of any service & requested to have permission to carry the the Lanthorn on horse back. This not being so convenient, I Volunteer'd it & took the Lanthorn, & with very capital exertions, we reached Mason's Tavern at Spencer at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9 o'clock. In this house were two very good-natured Girls, who gave us a most excellent broil'd Fowl for Sup-

²⁹ Here is another instance of Chipman's accuracy, for *Weatherwise's Almanack* for the year 1783 gives the phase of the moon as new on 26 September.

per. Tom abundantly compensated for my want of Appetite & eat almost the whole of it. We drank a bottle of our wine, went to bed, & slept very sound. We were in the Phaeton at 6 o'clock Fryday morning & with easing the horses by walking up all the hills, we got over 11 miles of very bad Road to Stowers in Worcester by $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8 o'clock. Here we breakfasted, having first sent a note to Mr. Paine informing him that we had Letters from his Son to be delivered to him personally. He was out of Town; his Son, Mr. John Paine, a very polite, obliging young Gentleman, soon called upon us. He afterwards attended us on horse back 4 miles, to shew the Road & Acquaint us with the best Stages to put up at. We started from Stower's (who is a very obliging, good kind of man) at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9 o'clock on our way to Boston. Now came on the grand enquiry how we were to contrive to get there before night. To go in the Post Road with the Phaeton was impossible, We proposed to get a fresh pair of horses at Sudbury [and] to push in however late; another prospect was to go by the way of Charlestown (the road being better) with our own horses. At last Tom, who is in the habit of saying & doing good things, *for once* tho't of one; it was to stop at our old friend Bradish's³⁰ at Cambridge, take horses & get on to Boston, either thro' Roxbury or over the Ferry as the time would best permit, & order the Servants to follow with the Phaeton in the morning. This Plan being determind upon, we urged the horses with all speed to Howe's tavern in Marlboro, 25 miles from Bradish's, which we reached $\frac{1}{2}$ past 1 o'clock. Here we *adornized*³¹ ourselves, got a comfortable dinner of cold Lamb & intend (it is now $\frac{3}{4}$ past 2 o'clock) to get off by three if we can & God grant we may effect our purposes. P.S. The Road from Worcester to Marlboro, tho' hilly, is pretty good. Shrewsbury hill is remarkably long. The

30 Probably Ebenezer Bradish, Sr., glazier for Harvard College, and owner of the Blue Anchor Tavern in Cambridge from 1749 until his death in 1785. Lucius R. Page, *History of Cambridge, Massachusetts* (Boston, 1877), 225, 497.

31 In his use of this word, though misspelled, Chipman reveals his lighter side. Adonize, according to the *OED*, means: Of men; to make an Adonis of; to adorn; to dandify.

Country thro' Shrewsbury & Northboro to Marlboro [is] tolerably good. Worcester is a very pleasant Country Town. We called on Mr. Baldwin,³² an old friend of Judge Sewall's³³ as we pass'd thro Sudbury; he is quite old. I confess I was a little disappointed in our reception; he has buried his former Wife & married another. Was this the Reason!

Saturday morn'g I awoke in a bed at Mrs. Coffin's³⁴ in Boston. The history of yesterday Afternoon & Evening it is not easy for me to describe. I can barely relate the general facts. The agitations of my mind were too various to pourtray. We press'd the horses thro' Sudbury, Western, Waltham & Watertown with all possible eagerness. As we pass'd thro' Watertown, we began to have a thousand ridiculous (as they since prove) fears & alarms. One poor man, not knowing the road, could not tell us the distance from Cambridge; another sulkily told us it was 8 miles when it was only 4; two or three others would not speak at all. All these men we conceited, knew us & behaved as they did purposely to insult & vex us. We at length about 7 o'clock got thro Watertown & found ourselves on the Road from thence to Cambridge wh we were perfectly acquainted with & here I soon began to experience sensations which I had hitherto been a Stranger to. I had heard that Judge Sewall's house & estate had been confiscated. I knew it was inhabited by the Purchaser under this confiscation & considered it as the common misfortune of the Loyalists. But when I came near this delightful spot, where I had passed so many happy hours, when I recollected the independent pleasing situation in which this (to me more than) Father had lived, & re-

32 William Baldwin of Sudbury, a classmate of Judge Sewall's at Harvard, class of 1748. Charles C. Baldwin, *The Baldwin Genealogy* (Cleveland, 1881), 624.

33 Jonathan Sewall (1728-1796) was active in Boston politically and legally, and a friend of John Adams. Chipman was his protege. He turned to the British cause in 1774; a mob attacked his home in Cambridge that year, and he fled to England in 1775. After the Revolution he served as a judge in Halifax until his death in St. John, New Brunswick. Lawrence, *Judges of New Brunswick*; Raymond, *Winslow Papers*; Jones, *Loyalists*.

34 See note 38, page 230.

flected that he was now banished from his Country & *rob'd* of his property, his hopes of providing for his Children frustrated, & all the agreeable prospects he had formed at an end——Pity, resentment, indignation, grief alternately operated & distress'd me. But as I pass'd the house, I felt the influence of other sensations, the effect of which will not suddenly be lost.

At 8 o'clock we reached Bradish's, entered the yard *with great caution* the back way, sent for Bradish to come out, whispered to him who we were, & skulked into the little back Room, with all the circumspection & conscious Guilt of the vilest miscreants. Bradish, who is very much broke & grown quite old, favored the Ideas we had entertained & seemed to think all our caution necessary. However, it being dark, Tom & I (after bespeaking horses, which were to be sent for from a pasture a mile off), walked out, went round the Colleges & thro' the town. Every thing appeared natural & familiar; no sensible alteration but the top of Stoughton College,³⁵ wh had been pulled down, of the great tree between Harvard & Massachusetts, wh had been killed by brine from the Pork Barrells opened for the sustenance of the *Reb*, I mean American Army, when there, and the destruction of the fence in front of the Colleges. We tho't of calling on Judge Lee,³⁶ but it was too late & we were in a hurry. We wished to see Dr. Kneeland, but dared not call on him, not knowing on what ground we stood. Upon our return to Bradish's, we found Billy Morse,³⁷ who was extravagantly rejoiced to see us. We call'd for a bottle of wine, enquired about our old friends in a *hush'd* conversation, & about 9 o'clock, the horses being at the Door, we set

35 Quincy relates that Stoughton College, "being an unsubstantial piece of masonry . . . grew weak with age, and, after many repairs, was taken down in 1780." Josiah Quincy, *The History of Harvard University* (Cambridge, Mass., 1840, 2v.), I, 180; see also Samuel Eliot Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard, 1636-1936* (Cambridge, Mass., 1937), 153.

36 Joseph Lee, a Mandamus Councillor and a judge of Middlesex County. William H. Whitmore, *Massachusetts Civil List, 1630-1774* (Albany, 1870), 64.

37 Possibly the Harvard College smithy. See The Colonial Society of Massachusetts *Publications* (Boston, 1925), XVI, 691, 699, 754.

off for Boston thro's Roxbury, 8 miles leaving the Servants to come with the Phaeton & horses in the morning. Two viler nags never were saddled. I had not gone a mile before the Jade I was upon came down upon all fours & threw me head over heels in the dirt. It was a sandy Road, which saved my neck. But all this we did not heed a groat. At ten o'clock we were at Mrs. Coffin's Door. Tom, leaving me to fasten the horses (there was no great occasion for this; they could not have gone 3 steps further), burst into the door in his *helter skelter slam bang* way, & was seated by the fire in a few minutes, quite at home lolling in his sisters' laps. A more joyous meeting cannot be described; never was one more so. Mrs. Coffin³⁸ in high health & spirits, looking as well as I ever saw her; Polly much grown since I last saw her, but retaining her former appearance, not perfectly recovered from a severe fit of sickness she had lately had; Rooksby, grown very much & greatly altered, and little Peg, more altered & grown more than either of them. There was also here a little Miss Taylor, Daughter of N. Taylor, a sprightly, sensible, good natur'd pretty girl. Nancy Coffin, to our great Regret, was out of town, having that Afternoon gone out to M. Brimmer's³⁹ at Jamaica Plain on a visit. Mrs. Emerson^{39a} was at Cambridge; we unfortunately passed the house where she was, not knowing it. Mr. Shirley Erving⁴⁰ was at Mrs. Coffin's, a genteel young man, who is making his addresses to Polly Coffin, who is really a most accomplished, sensible, fine young Lady. In this house I at once found myself at home & was received with all the cordiality & affection of a Son

38 Mrs. William Coffin, mother of "Tom," was Mary Aston; of her nine children, Chipman mentions Thomas Aston, Ann ("Nancy"), Mary ("Polly"), Rooksby, Margaret ("little Peg"). W. S. Appleton, *Gatherings*.

39 Martin Brimmer, Boston merchant, at this time owned the original estate of Sir Francis Bernard, on the southwest side of Jamaica Pond, which the State had confiscated in 1779. F. S. Drake, *The Town of Roxbury* (Roxbury, Mass., 1878), 428-429.

39a. Possibly Mrs. Elizabeth Emerson, wife of John Emerson; he left Boston with Chipman in 1776. Jones, *Loyalists*, 129; Mass. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, XVIII, 266.

40 Shirley Erving married Mary ("Polly") Coffin in 1786.

& Brother. We supped very pleasantly & remaining chatting in the most agreeable stile of good humour, friendship & affection till 1 o'clock, when we retired to bed. We immediately found how groundless our fears had been of meeting with anything unpleasant or disagreeable & determined to visit all our friends publickly in the morning. As soon as we had breakfasted & were dress'd on Saturday morning (the Servants with the Phaeton & horses having arrived safe, tho' in a hard rain, & Mrs. E. & Nancy C. being sent for), we sallied forth, & knowing that the Gov'r⁴¹ was gone to the *Council*, called at his house & left our Cards for *him*. We were disappointed in not seeing Mrs. Hancock; she was at Point Shirley with her little Son, who was there under inoculation for the small pox. We met the Lieut't Governor⁴² in the street, who received us in the most polite, friendly manner, as did Dr. Cooper,⁴³ whom we also met. We called on all our friends & met with a reception the most flattering & agreeable that could be imagined. We went upon the Exchange at 1 o'clock, the usual hour, & were most cordially welcomed by every Gentlemen that knew us, not an appearance of any thing unfriendly or unpleasant. We had heard much of Miss Hunter⁴⁴ of Rhode Island, who was at Dr. Lloyd's,⁴⁵ we were prepared to expect something supernatural. We called to see her. Our expectations were exceeded by the interview; she is without any excep-

41 John Hancock. His wife, Dorothy Quincy Hancock, was a sister of Esther Quincy Sewall, wife of Judge Jonathan Sewall. Stark, *Loyalists*.

42 Thomas Cushing.

43 The Rev. Samuel Cooper, presbyter of the Brattle Street Church from 1746 to his death in December, 1783. William B. Sprague, D.D., *Annals of the American Pulpit* (N. Y., 1857), I, 440-444.

44 The Misses Hunter (Eliza, Katherine and Nancy), daughters of Dr. William Hunter and his wife, Deborah Malbone Hunter, were "belles" of Newport, Rhode Island. Edwin M. Stone, *Our French Allies* (Providence, 1884), 264. Stone thinks that the Miss Hunter mentioned by Chipman is Eliza.

45 Dr. James Lloyd, referred to in note 16, page 217, was a Loyalist who, after 1783, became again a citizen of Massachusetts. He was the leading obstetrician of his time in Boston. James Thacher, *American Medical Biography* (Boston, 1828); Mass. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, VII, 172-184.

tion the most beautiful, accomplished, & elegant Person (with a mind, if possible, as we're informed by her friends, superior), that I ever beheld. We lost no time in making these Visits as I was immoderately anxious to get to Salem before night. I dined with Tom at home, took a horse & Chaise immediately after dinner, crossed Winnesimmet⁴⁶ Ferry (My old Friend & Classmate, Wetmore⁴⁷ in the same boat), & pushed on for Salem, 15 miles, with all possible haste, My mind was agitated in a very extraordinary manner. I was going to see a Parent & Sisters⁴⁸ from whom I had been absent 9 years,* and possibly to find a Brother, who had been absent several years & scarce heard of at all. My Visit to them would be unexpected. I feared the Effect it would have upon my youngest sister, (Nancy), who had long been very ill. About 7 o'clock I reached Mr. Gray's, a Brother in law.⁴⁹

* My heart is as light as a feather
As nearer to Salem I go
Such eager sensations I never
Ere' felt or imagin'd till now.

To see my dear Sisters & mother
From whom so long absent I've been
Perhaps too, to find a lost Brother
No pleasure can rival the Scene.

46 The present Chelsea.

47 William Wetmore, born at Middletown, Conn., moved to Salem and studied law under the Hon. William Pynchon whose second daughter, Catherine, he married in 1776. She died July 28, 1778, leaving a son William. Wetmore, like William Pynchon, was a Tory in the early stages of the Revolution. James Duncan Phillips, *Salem in the Eighteenth Century* (Boston & N. Y., 1937), 324; James C. Wetmore, *The Wetmore Family of America* (Albany, 1861), 446-455.

48 Chipman's father, John, died in 1768, leaving his widow, Elizabeth Brown Chipman and six children: Abigail, Rebecca, Ward (the diarist), Elizabeth ("Betsy"), Joanna ("Nancy"), and John (the "lost" brother). B. L. Chipman, *The Chipman Family*, 32.

49 The Hon. William Gray of Lynn and Salem, "one of the largest shipowners in New England," married Elizabeth ("Betsy") Chipman in 1782. Edward Gray, *William Gray of Salem, Merchant, A Biographical Sketch* (Boston & N. Y., 1914), 8-9; the same auhor, "William Gray of Lynn, Massachusetts, and Some of His Descendants," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, LII (1916), 119. The "M-head," referred to by Chipman p. 233, is, of course, Marblehead, where Mrs. Chipman and her family had made their home.

I intended to have call'd him out & discovered myself to him to prevent too great an alarm to my sister. Unfortunately he was not at home; Nancy was at the door. I did not know her. I asked for Mr. Gray & then for Mrs. G. & pass'd into the house. I knew Betsy (Mrs. G.); she did not recollect me. I was altogether tumult & convulsion. I feared to make myself known. I could not longer refrain & cried out, My Sister! Nancy, who had followed me in, upon hearing this, clasped me round the neck & fainted; she was yet very weak. Betsy was overcome & fell back in her Chair. It would be an ill compliment to my feelings to attempt to describe them. I was not ashamed of my weakness. The moment was worth a world. Nancy continued very hysterical about an hour. Mr. Gray came in; I had never seen him before. His behaviour was very affectionate; he is a sensible, agreeable, good temper'd man, is a most affectionate husband & *doatingly* fond of my Sister. We soon grew composed, passed a few delightful hours, & after determining to take Nancy with me in the Chaise to M-head in the morning, I went to bed.

On Sunday Morning about 9 o'Clock, I set off with Nancy for M-head, about 4 miles; we had a very pleasant ride. Determined from what I had experienced the Even'g before, not to alarm my mother, I desired Nancy to get out & walk on & I stop'd some distance from the house. Fortunately some Gentlemen from M-head, who had seen me in Boston, had inform'd my mother the Evening before. She expected to see me. Our meeting was, as may be imagined, of the pleasantest & most agreeable nature. A few minutes of silence ensued. My other Sisters⁵⁰ were there; a more affectionate interview never took place. I passed this day and Monday at M-head, call'd on all my old friends, met with a most cordial & welcome reception, & was urged by many of them to return & live there. Not a circumstance happened to give me the least pain or mortification; on the contrary, every thing was pleasant and agreeable. Monday Eve'g I returned with

50 Abigail, wife of Capt. Peter Bubier, and Rebecca, wife of Capt. William Blackler, all of Marblehead.

Nancy to Salem, call'd on all my old friends there on Tuesday morn'g [and] met with the same reception I had every where else, was much urged to return there for life. I dined at my Brother's⁵¹ & about 5 o'Clock set off with a very heavy heart for Boston. Nancy distressed me; she could not dine at table; our parting was really affecting.

I arrived at Mrs. Coffin's about 1/2 past 7 o'clock. The whole family, with Mrs. & Miss Howard, the Deblois family, Miss Hunter, Miss Lloyd, Mr. & Mrs. Parker, Miss Hubbard, &c., passed the Eve'g at Mr. T. Amory's.⁵² Tom took me there with him. We passed a most delightful Evening; there I saw Nancy Coffin. She look'd in better health than I ever saw her, grown quite fat; we had a very pleasant tête à tête & chatted over the whole history of the times both old & new.

Miss Hunter favored us with several songs, & confirmed all the impressions the first interview had occasioned. On Wednesday morn'g, Tom & I set out to take leave of our Friends & were really industrious. We call'd on all of them in the course of the forenoon & returned & dressed for dinner at Dr. Lloyd's, where we had been invited immediately upon our arrival in town. Here we met most of the party we had been with the Evening before. We had a most elegant dinner and only a trifling accident, which afforded no small amusement.* After dinner Miss Deblois & Miss Hunter play'd on the Harpsicord & sung. It was difficult to ascertain the preference; they are the two finest Girls in the World. Miss H. has the best voice & the greatest command of it; Miss D., the best finger upon the harpsicord, as we conceited, N.B. I seriously think Tom Coffin is in love with Miss Hunter.

We declined passing the Evening here & returned to Mrs. Coffin's, where we passed a most sociable, agreeable, jolly Evening. Polly Coffin was full of her fun.† Our

* Never remove a crack'd Dish with a Roast Pig in it. T.A.C.

† A bite of a Candle is as good as a brush full of Soap-Lather.

51 Mr. William Gray's, Chipman's brother-in-law.

52 Of Tom Coffin's aunts on his father's side, one had married into the Deblois family, another into the Amory family.

fellow traveller, Mr. Guild, passed $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour with us this evening, & was very pleasant & appeared very much gratified; he had this day arrived at Boston. About 1 o'Clock we went to bed. We rose in the morning by 5 o'Clock; the whole family was soon below in tears; their hearts were all too full to speak. I could not continue in the house. After Tom had taken leave, I hurried thro' the painful ceremony & we jumped into the Phaeton.

Thursday 2d Octo'r. By six o'Clock we were in the Phaeton; all the family was up at Mrs. Coffins. We, of course, came away in a very *penseroso* stile, which continued the whole day. Tom & I scarce speaking to each other the whole way to Providence. We pass'd thro Roxbury to Gay's Tavern at Dedham, 11 miles from Boston, where we got a very good breakfast at 8 o'Clock. About 9 o'C we started, & passing thro Walpole, arrived at Mann's in Wrentham, 16 miles further on at 12 o'c. Here we refreshed our horses, eat a broiled Chicken, & set off [at] $\frac{1}{2}$ past 1 o'c for Providence, a stage of 18 Miles, where we alighted at 5 o'Clock. The Road from Boston to Providence is very good, the distance 45 miles. Nothing very inviting in the Country you pass thro', being chiefly a very barren soil, tho' indeed we were little dispos'd to make observations. About 4 miles before we reached Providence, we passed thro the Town of Rehoboth, a pleasant Country Village; here we stop'd a few minutes to see the fall of water in the River⁵³ that passes thro' this town, & were amused with seeing the Smith's shop there, where the Bellows are kept going by the water Works & two Anvils wrought upon in the same manner. The Town of Providence consists principally of one Street,⁵⁴ about 2 miles in length on the side of the River at the bottom of a hill, very few elegant houses, but there seems to be a spirit of industry & the town is rapidly improving. We were recommended to Rice's Tavern; there we put up our horse and bespoke beds, & sallied out to see

53 The Palmer River.

54 Town(e) Street, the present North, and South Main Streets. William R. Staples, *Annals of the Town of Providence* (Providence, 1843), 35.

the town. We met Mr. John Inman⁵⁵ of Boston, a Refugee, not admitted to return there, who went with us thro' the Town. We drank Tea at a Mr. Chase's, an old acquaintance of Coffin, & returning to Rice's, found that we could have no Room there to ourselves, & that we must pass thro' another bedroom to get to our own. This disgusted us. We went to a Mrs. Jones', apparently a better house, bespoke beds, a room to ourselves & ordered supper, & went out to make a visit to Mr. John Amory, a Refugee from Boston, when Coffin met his friends Mr. Payne & Newell & their wives, who were on a visit here. About 9 o'Clock we returned to Mrs. Jones's; instead of a Room to ourselves, we found two Gentlemen occupying it, & plates on the table for them to sup with us. We had been pretty irritable all day; this provoked us; we had given up our beds at Rice's & could not return there. With difficulty we got a fire in another Room & soon after rec'd a summons to supper with the Gentlemen in the first Room. [We] were told they were *Gentlemen* & that no *separate* supper tables were laid in the house. We refused to sup with them, & after waiting an hour longer, vexed & sulky, we got a[n] Oyster & piece of cold roasted Beef very ill served. Had we not found a back Gammon Box in the Room to relieve us, I verily fear Tom & I should have quarrel'd with each other. We at length went to bed in a little better humour, the beds very indifferent & I think Sheets that were not *quite* clean. By 6 o'Clock we arose, paid our Reckoning and returned to Rice's, where we heartily wished we had remained all night.

N.B. When you once put up at a house to which you are recommended in a strange place, never quit it for trifling inconveniences. In the morning we found our mistake in going to Mrs. Jones's; she keeps a Boarding house & not a Tavern; the two Gentlemen were Boarders. We attempted to get a passage to Newport in one of the Packet Boats, but we found we could not conveniently carry our

⁵⁵ John Inman, John Amory (whom Chipman mentions a few lines below), and Major Thomas Brattle were all Loyalists, who fled Boston during the Revolution. Amory and Brattle were allowed to return to their homes, and their property was restored. Inman remained in Rhode Island. See Jones, *Loyalists*; Stark, *Loyalists*, 345-346.

Carriage & Horses. This disappointed us a little; our minds were still liable to impressions from small accidents. What a d——d up hill business this going from one's Friends is! About $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7 o'C we set off from Rice's, cross'd Providence River at the new Ferry, pass'd thro Rehoboth & Swanze⁵⁶ to Burr's Tavern at Warren, about 12 miles from Providence, where we had a very good breakfast. The Road in general from Providence to Warren is very good, the Country level & very pleasant, not very fertile, but the River⁵⁷ which passes thro Warren & Swanze has a very agreeable effect. The College at Providence is a large handsome building, much resembling Hollis-hall at Cambridge; it had been occupied as an Hospital during the war, & was repairing, which prevented our going into it. N.B. The Landlord & Landlady at Warren [were] of size Equal to Three rum Puncheons!!! About 11 o'Clock we set off for Rhode Island, the Country very pleasant, & the Road good. We pass'd thro' Bristol, which is a town pleasantly situated, but at present has a most wretched appearance; part of it was burnt during the war, & it now exhibits every mark of poverty. By sending a Servant forward, we secured the boat in Readiness at Bristol Ferry, 6 miles from Burr's. N.B. There is but one boat there. The passage across is delightful & we had a very intelligent Ferry man, who gave us a particular account of the Country, Rivers, & Islands about us. The landing is quite at the north part of the Island of Rhode Island. We took the East Road to Newport, about 12 Miles, & without exception the finest Road I ever travelled, the Country beautiful & very regularly laid out. The loss of the trees during the war must, in a great measure, have injured the prospects upon the Island as you pass. We were, however, much delighted with it. We reached Newport at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 2 o'Clock, & put up at Mrs. Almy's, one of the most fecetious, companionable, civil, good natur'd, jolly, well-bred Landladys I

⁵⁶ The present Swansea.

⁵⁷ The Warren River.

ever met with.⁵⁸ She *has* a husband, but he is too much of a Cypher in the *house* to be call'd the *Landlord*. After dressing ourselves, we had a very good dinner served up, & about 4 o'Clock sallied out to see the Town. Thames Street is the principal one; it is paved & runs thro the Town from North to South next to the Harbor. From the Heights above the Town, the views are delightful. There are a few elegant houses principally built of wood, not more than three or four brick buildings in the place. It appears to have suffered much during the war; we were told, indeed, that it does not appear like the same place. Providence, from its situation and the spirit of improvement & industry which prevails, must rival Newport & prevent the sudden Recovery of its former opulence & importance. About Tea-time, Coffin went to deliver a letter to Miss Ann Hunter, Sister to Miss Hunter. Mr. F. Brinley happening to call in at Mrs. Hunter's, was requested to call on me at Mrs. Almy's & invite me also to Tea. We found Mrs. H. a very agreeable, polite lady, & Miss Nancy a fine Girl, but not equal to her Sister. We returned & passed the Evening at Mrs. Almy's, amusing ourselves at Back-Gammon till supper time. Major Brattle,⁵⁹ who lives with Mrs. Almy (not yet being suffered to return to Boston), came home about 9 o'Clock upon our sending for him, to take his advice about our Rout to New York. There was a Packet Boat ready. Our wish was to be taken across to the East End of Long Island, with the Phaeton & horses. The distance to New London from R. Island is 50 miles, including the two ferries of 3 miles each to & from Conanicut Island. The Road very bad the whole way; the distance from N. London to Long Island, 20 miles, & the Accomodations for a passage across, uncertain. After solemn & serious deliberation & proing & coning the Subject over a bottle of

58 That Mrs. Almy had "favored the efforts of the Crown to retain the Colonies," and that she had kept a journal of the siege of Newport in August, 1778, may have prejudiced Chipman's opinion of her. George C. Mason, *Annals of Trinity Church, Newport, R. I., 1698-1820* (Newport, R. I., 1890, 2v.), I, 101, footnote 102; "Mrs. Almy's Journal," *Newport Historical Magazine*, I (1880-1881), 17-36.

59 See note 55, page 236.

most excellent old madeira from Mr. Brattle's stock, we determined to wait for a Packet Boat to take us either to Long Island, or directly to New York, & upon this went quietly to bed. About 6 o'Clock in the morning on Saturday, the Passengers in the boat from Providence (on board which we wished to have taken passage), after being upon the water all night, got in to Mrs. Almy's. How lucky that we came by land! how ridiculous to be anxious about trifling circumstances! not an event yet during our Journey which at the time we regretted, but turned out afterwards for the best. Saturday we passed very agreeably at Newport. In the forenoon, Dr. Lloyd, Mr. Nat. Brinley, & Mr. & Mrs. Malbone arrived from New York. They all, except Mrs. Malbone, dined with us at Mr. F. Brinley's, who very politely invited us the Evening before. Major Brattle & Mr. John Malbone took us a walk after dinner to Eas[t]on's beach & pointed out to us the different works that had been erected by the British & French, & the positions of the Troops at the several critical periods of the war, & the devastations that had been made in & about Newport during its continuance. We returned & drank Tea at Mr. Brinley's, call'd again at Mrs. Hunter's, & pass'd the Evening at Mrs. Almys. At 9 o'Clock we engaged the same Packet Boat in wh Dr. Lloyd returned from N York, to take us back. A Mr. Durant, a Mr. Phelps & Parson——— settled at Johnny Moorhead's meeting house in Boston⁶⁰ joined us. After supper, Brattle, in a very *snug* way, gave us a bottle of most excellent Champagne; we went to bed (the wind being fair for New York) in charming spirits, having first given Mrs. Almy a list of the stores we wanted for our passage to New York. We rose at 5 o'Clock Sunday morn'g & with all possible dispatch got the boat ready

60 Chipman refers here to the present Arlington Street Church, which then had its meeting house in Long Lane, now Federal Street; the Rev. John Moorhead was presbyter from its "gathering" in 1729 until 1773. The Rev. Robert Annan, presbyter from 1783 to 1786, was the "Parson" whose name eluded Chipman. Frederick Lewis Weis, *The Colonial Clergy of New England* (Lancaster, Mass., 1936), 144, 242; Alexander Blaikie, D.D., *A History of Presbyterianism in New England* (Boston, 1881), 255.

to take in our Phaeton & horses, two in the hold & two upon deck. We soon took the Phaeton to pieces & stow'd it away, leaving the Body upon the Quarter deck, (in which I am now writing this part of the Journal). We breakfasted at Mrs. Almy's, took leave of Miss Coddington, a beautiful & agreeable young Lady who, with her mama, lives in the same house, embarked with the three other Gentlemen in Fairbanks's Packet boat & sailed for New York, with a fine breeze at N East & a very fair prospect of dining at New York to morrow. P. S. Coffin was yesterday accosted in the Street by a Mr. Wainwood of Newport, who demanded of him 30 Dollars for the hire of his Servant, a Negro, who had been employed in the Commissariate at New York. The man was rather impetuous, & Tom as laconic in declining payment. We afterwards, as we went to dinner, saw Wainwood coming out of the State's Attorney's house, whom he had been to consult as we supposed; but finding how absurd the demand was, he obtained no process, tho' we every moment expected a Writ to be served. We met with nothing unpleasant at Newport, but were told the town was governed by a few insignificant, ignorant men; indeed most of the respectable Characters that formerly lived here, have quitted it. The Ladies (of which there is a great number & very fine ones) complain much of the scarcity of Beaux. Mrs. Almy told us the odds was 25 to 1. We indeed saw not one Young Gentleman in the place.

In the forenoon on Saturday, we went into the Jews' Synagogue; the service was just over. We saw the various ornaments & *instruments* of their religion & the lamp which they keep perpetually burning over the altar. It is a small neat building, no pews, a seat which goes round the house, & Desk for the Priest in the middle. There is a Gallery in which we were told the women sit. We also pass'd by the Library, a small, neat building, but much deranged by the war. N. B. Mrs. Almy keeps a house upon the same plan with Mrs. Jones at Providence, yet, here we felt ourselves very happy—sweet pliability of the human frame! how fortunate that we can be so suddenly reconciled to our situations as they vary in life.

Monday. We had a fine breeze all night wh. brought us off Huntington by breakfast time; it then died away. We jogg'd on slowly the rest of the day, amusing ourselves with Cards &c. as well as we could. Our Fellow Passengers were civil & good natur'd. Between 10 & 11 o'Clock at night we passed thro' Hell-gate & got to Corlear's Hook⁶¹ a little before 12 o'Clock. Here Tom & I were put on shore in the boat, & soon reached my house,⁶² where Tom took a bed, not inclining to disturb the family in Maiden Lane.

Thus ended our Jaunt; not an unpleasant incident thro' the whole.

Tuesday. *P. S.* I shall never forget the satisfaction I have this day felt.

61 Just south of the Williamsburg Bridge, at the present Corlear's Park. Washington Irving uses the name in his *History of New York*, Bk. II, Chap. IV.

62 Some idea of Chipman's house may be gained from a letter from Judge Sewall in England to Chipman in New York, of 15 March 1780, which says in part, ". . . I receive [pleasure] from the account of your situation at Mrs. Ogilvies; lodging and boarding with a servant and house at £180 per annum, and your income £300 per annum." Lawrence, *Judges*, 221.

THE DUNCANS OF LONDONDERRY, N. H.

The Children of George, the Emigrant

By JAMES DUNCAN PHILLIPS

1. John Duncan married Rachel Todd
Born in Ireland Born in Ireland
Died in Londonderry, N. H. Died in Londonderry
Eleven children, three born in Ireland

 2. George Duncan married 1730 Letitia Bell
Born in Ireland 1710 (?) Born in Ireland 1715
Died in Londonderry 1796 (?) Died in Londonderry
Nine children born in Londonderry

 3. William Duncan married 1744 Naomi Bell
Born in Ireland 1715 (?) Born in Ireland 1717
Died in Londonderry 1795
Died in Londonderry 1807
Nine children born in Londonderry

 4. Robert Duncan married 1735 (?) Isabella Caldwell
Born in Ireland 1702 Born in Ireland (?) 1711
Died in Boston 1752 Died in Boston 1749
Five children born in Boston

 5. Abraham Duncan married (a rich widow)
Born in Ireland
Died in North Carolina about 30
No children

 6. Esther Duncan married James Cassin
Born in Ireland Born (?)
Died in Valentine, Conn. Died (?)
No known children
-

7. James Duncan married 1747 Elizabeth Ball
 Born in Ireland 1725 Born in Londonderry 1725
 Died in Haverhill 1817 Died in Haverhill 1779
 Twelve children all born in Haverhill
 Married 2nd Elizabeth Leonard
 Born in Taunton (?) 1736 Died in Haverhill 1785
 Married 3rd Hannah Greenleaf
 Born in Newburyport (?) 1727
 Died in Haverhill 1813
-

A great deal of fuss has recently been made about pioneers in the middle west, but except that they had a larger country to swing about in, Daniel Boone, David Crockett and Kit Carson were no more pioneers than the frontiersmen of New England during the half century of conflict with the French and Indians that ended in 1763. These frontiersmen had to meet not only bands of brave and rather blood-thirsty Indians, but Indians led by very skillful French partisans and supplied with arms and ammunition from French bases in Canada. To no small extent these raids were organized and directed from there.

Less than twenty years before the Duncans' arrival, the Indians had steadily harried the frontier from Lancaster to Wells and killed many people and burned many farms. In 1708, a determined attack on Haverhill had resulted in the killing of Mr. Rolfe, the minister, and some forty-seven other persons. Although in 1727 there was peace between France and England, there was pretty bloody war between the Indians and the colonists in Maine which might at any moment spread further south. In fact in 1724, an attack had been made on Dunstable and several men killed in following up the Indians. This resulted in the raising of Captain Lovewell's company of rangers to hunt the Indians in the northern woods. The company was ambushed and most of them killed near Lovewell's Pond in Fryeburg, Maine, but the bitter fight broke the power of the Pequawket tribe and did much to make the frontier safe.¹

1 See Parkman: Half Century of Conflict Chaps. V and XI.

JOHN DUNCAN (SON OF GEORGE AND HIS UNIDENTIFIED
FIRST WIFE) AND RACHEL TODD DUNCAN

It was right on the heels of these exciting events that the Duncan clan arrived in Londonderry. As has been said² all of George Duncan's children were born on the other side and the eldest son John Duncan was not the child of Margaret Cross who came over with him but of a first wife whose name is not recorded. John brought with him his wife, Rachel, and four sons, the youngest having been born on the voyage. Andrew Todd, brother-in-law of Rachel Duncan, and his mother, Rachel Nelson Todd, had arrived in Londonderry with the first group of settlers. These Todds were great people. At least two of Andrew Todd's brothers were graduates of the University of Edinburgh and Andrew became a Colonel of Militia in 1755. The mother, Rachel Nelson Todd, must have been a woman of no little spirit to have picked up stakes and moved to the wilds of America at the age of fifty-eight. There are Todds all over New Hampshire and all of them go back to Rachel. Several more will appear in this story, but the ancestors of Abraham Lincoln's wife apparently came to Pennsylvania.

But to return to John Duncan, oldest son of emigrant George. There are two lots apparently assigned to him on the plan of Nutfield³ though perhaps one belonged to his eldest son. One of them was a little over half a mile due north of the Hill Burial Ground, and the other a little east of the first one. The land of John Bell was not far away, also that of Andrew Todd and several Morisons. John Bell's family is very much part of this story, too.

John Duncan probably established himself on one of the two plots of land shown to have belonged to him. Why they should have been set off or sold to him while his father was forced to pay Gov. Wentworth £100 for his farm is not clear. He probably bought them from someone else, as there is no mention of an allotment to any Duncan in the Proprietors' Records,⁴ but there is no deed

2 See Essex Inst. Hist. Col., Vol. LXXXVI.

3 Drawn by Rev. Jesse G. Murphy: Early Records of Londonderry, II, p. 17.

4 Early Records of Londonderry: Proprietors' Records.

on file in the New Hampshire Historical Society to show from whom he acquired them.

In the life of the community, John early began to take his part. March 5, 1735 he was made a member of a committee to choose a schoolmaster and two years later became one of the road surveyors.⁵ It seems probable, however, that his interests had a strong religious trend for he was ordained the Ruling Elder of the West Parish Church. This West Parish early superceded the parish at the Hill burial ground and that meetinghouse was never much used as time passed. The West Parish seems to have remained Presbyterian and at least three Duncans were ruling elders but the East Parish became Congregational before 1745⁶ After the original George's appearance in the land row between the town and the proprietors, the Duncan family seems to have avoided public affairs and you seldom find their names on any of the various petitions in the Church rows over the East and West Parishes, or even on the petition for defence against the Indians in 1747. John did take a hand in a row with the selectmen in 1737, when they tried to bar out a lot of the rate-payers who had customarily made up the electorate. Apparently the larger group met in one corner of the meetinghouse and elected one group of town officers, and a much smaller group probably the "Proprietors" met in another corner and elected different town officers, but as they had the only Justice of the Peace in town on their side, they got their group sworn in. John Duncan was against this and signed the petition to the Governor and Council to do something about it.⁷

THE SECOND GENERATION

JOHN'S SON JOHN AND HANNAH HENREY

John's eldest son John was old enough to have a serious love affair before he left Ireland and so became engaged to Hannah Henrey, but they were too young to marry. After he had established himself in Londonderry, he sent

⁵ Early Records of Londonderry, I, Political Records, pp. 170, 172.

⁶ Centennial Discourse by Rev. L. B. Post, Easter, 1876.

⁷ Early Records I, pp. 387, 388.

for Hannah. Her brother paid her passage to Boston, but on reaching Halifax, the rascally captain sold her as an indentured servant ostensibly for her passage money, which was the way many persons got their passage to America. In due time Hannah got word to her John who went at once to Halifax, recovered his bride and married her, got the rascally captain duly punished and returned with her to Londonderry.⁸ Both were noted for great personal beauty. He is said to have kept the first store in Londonderry and lived all his life and died there. He is probably the Squire John Duncan who owned the big square pew in the right hand corner as you faced the pulpit in the old meetinghouse, next to Captain Thomas Patterson and next but one to Lieutenant John Pinkerton.⁹

The second John's son Robert, moved to Antrim in 1787, and established a family there which continued most of the next century as respected citizens.¹⁰ There were a lot of Duncans in Antrim down to the middle of the 19th Century.¹¹

JOHN AND RACHEL'S OTHER SONS AND DAUGHTERS

George, the second son of John and Rachel Todd, married Mary Bell and moved to Peterborough. They had a number of daughters and a son George. The daughter Elizabeth married Samuel Taggart, a member of Congress, and the daughter Rachel married Deacon John Todd of Peterborough.¹² Esther married Moses Black of Boston and lived in the Old Quincy House in Quincy most of her life.¹³ This Moses Black certainly had a weakness for Duncans. He was engaged to one and after her death, married another and after her death a third.

George, the son of George and Mary Bell, married Jane Ferguson who died in 1802 leaving one daughter. Later he married a widow Mrs. Betsy Taylor who was the

⁸ W. R. Cochrane: History of Antrim, N. H.

⁹ Plan by Rev. J. G. McMurphy in Willey: Book of Nutfield, p. 158.

¹⁰ W. R. Cochrane: History of Antrim.

¹¹ *ibid*, p. 470.

¹² E. P. Parker: History of Londonderry, p. 270.

¹³ Notes from Albert Thorndike.

mother of his other five children and died in 1829, and as he lived to be eighty-four he married a third wife before he died in 1851.¹⁴ He moved to Preble, N. Y., in 1813, but his children were born in Peterborough. The late Albert Thorndike of Boston was descended from his daughter Mary who was brought up in Quincy by her aunt Esther Black and married Daniel Wells of Greenfield, Massachusetts.

William, another son of John and Rachel Todd, married Jane Alexander. He seems to have lived most of his life in Londonderry. Of his three daughters only Rosanna who married Thomas Lamb of Boston left any descendants.¹⁵ They are a numerous and delightful tribe.

Of the daughters of John and Rachel Todd, Rachel married Samuel Archibald and moved to Nova Scotia about 1760. The Attorney General of Nova Scotia and other eminent persons there were her descendants. It is said¹⁶ that the Archibalds of Nova Scotia came direct from Londonderry, Ireland, but one John Archibald was a selectman of Londonderry, N. H., for many years after 1728¹⁷ and a Samuel was a deer warden in 1748.¹⁸

Another daughter Rosanna, was one of the wives of Moses Black mentioned above and a third, Margaret, married Thomas Taggart of Peterborough. Of the other three daughters Naomi is supposed to have married a Smith, and Sally a Hoffran, but the record ends there. Mary married her first cousin John,¹⁹ son of George and Letitia Bell Duncan. Of the other sons Abraham and James there is no record and this also closes the record of the oldest son of the emigrant and his family. It is evident that the Duncans of Peterborough and Antrim, the Taggarts of Peterborough, and the Lambs and Thorn-

14 Albert Smith: *History of Peterborough*, Pt. II, p. 60.

15 Parker: *Londonderry*, p. 270.

16 I. Longworth: *Life of Hon. Samuel G. W. Archibald*, p. 1.

17 *Early Records, Political*, I, p. 73.

18 *Ibid*, p. 283.

19 Ms. genealogy formerly owned by John Bryant of Boston hereafter called Bryant Genealogy.

dikes of Boston and the Archibalds of Nova Scotia, all run back to this branch of the Duncans.²⁰

GEORGE (SON OF GEORGE AND MARGARET CROSS DUNCAN)
AND LETITIA BELL

George Duncan, the second son of the emigrant, was himself born in Ireland about 1710 and married Letitia Bell, eldest daughter of John Bell and Elizabeth (Todd) Bell. Letitia was born in 1715 also in Ireland, but came over with her father some five years before the Duncans arrived. They were married about 1730 soon after the Duncans settled. His land, probably purchased for him by his father, was alongside his brother John's and just a short distance from the Bell property, but in 1737, his father deeded to him 31 acres of the land he bought from Governor Wentworth.²¹

George Duncan seems to have been best known as a deacon of the church and was usually called Deacon Duncan. He was often buying and selling land in Londonderry and also speculated in some land way up in Thornton, N. H. He was also often a road surveyor and evidently a substantial citizen, but probably lived right in Londonderry all his life. There was a stone in 1933 to his wife Letitia, who died May 5, 1767, in the Hill Cemetery, but the writer has not located one to him.²²

They had eight or nine children of whom the eldest was John, born in 1731, who married his cousin Mary Duncan, daughter of John and Rachel Todd Duncan mentioned above. He moved to Antrim, was in the legislature and the state senate and finally died at 91. His son James moved to Hancock and indulged in politics to the

20 There is also an unaccounted for William H. Duncan of Hanover, N. H., whom Parker in his History of Londonderry (p. 270) says belongs to the descendants of John and Rachel Todd Duncan, but where does he fit in? J. Q. Bittering in his History of Haverhill, N. H., says William H., was born in Candia in 1807 was the son of William Duncan and Mary McMurphy, but who was this William the son of? John of the second generation had no son William and his brother William's son William never married.

21 Deed, Sept. 30, 1737, in N. H., Historical Society.

22 See also Willey: Book of Nutfield, p. 117 for inscriptions in Hill Graveyard.

extent of representing that town in the legislature. Of the other sons George went west and there is no record of his doings. Of Robert who is listed in the family record but not mentioned by Parker, nothing is known and the same is true of Josiah. Samuel died as an infant and is buried in the Hill Cemetery.

Of the daughters there is no record about Margaret.²³ Elizabeth married James Cunningham of Pembroke and Letitia married Captain Alexander Todd of Hooksett. The latter couple had several children two of whom married Morisons of Peterborough. Deacon John Todd of that town was one of their grandchildren.

Captain Alexander Todd was an officer in the last French war and lived most of his life in Hooksett, and his eldest son John was drowned in the Amoskeag Falls in 1754. Toward the close of his life Captain Todd returned to Londonderry.

This completes the record of the family of Deacon George and Letitia but it is evident that they contributed substantially to Antrim, Hancock and Peterborough, not to mention Pembroke not usually thought of as a Scotch town but adjacent to Hooksett.

WILLIAM AND NAOMI BELL DUNCAN

Next we come to William Duncan, another son of George and Margaret Cross, who was born in Ireland about 1713 and died in 1795. He married another Bell girl, Naomi, who was born about 1715 and died in 1804. They also lived all their lives in Londonderry. He was a deacon of the church and bought various pieces of land which suggests that he was a farmer.²⁴ He also was a captain of the militia and was usually known as Captain Duncan.

Three of their sons George, John and Isaac were among the early settlers of Acworth.²⁵ George and Isaac probably never married or at least left no children, but John made up for it. He had moved to Acworth in 1776. He

²³ Margaret is not in Parker but is in the Bryant genealogy. She may have died young.

²⁴ Parker's Londonderry, p. 271.

²⁵ R. L. Merrill: History of Acworth, Acworth, 1879.

married Margaret Dickey in 1778, and she had seven children before her death in 1792, then he married Betsy Prouty, who had eleven children more and lived till 1871. This John was a colonel in the Revolution and lived much of his life in Acworth, but later moved to Barnet, Vermont. None of his four sons stayed in Acworth or even in Barnet except his son John who lived some time in Barnet, but died in Cedar City, Utah, in 1872.²⁶ Adam lived for a while in Barnet, but William married Ruth C. Gilmore of Windham while in Acworth,²⁷ and then moved out to Michigan. Horace lived in Monroe.²⁸ Senator Flanders of Vermont is descended from this Barnet branch of the family.²⁹

The fourth son of William and Naomi stayed in Londonderry. He was William usually called Captain like his father. He remained unmarried and died in 1797 and has a stone in the Hill Cemetery. This accounts for all the sons.

There were six daughters in this family. Of Naomi and Mary who are mentioned on the family record, but not by Parker,³⁰ there is no further information which probably means they died as children. Rachel made the most brilliant match for she married Major John Pinkerton. He must have been much older than she for he was born in Ireland. He had no intention of being a farmer and like a later distinguished member of the Duncan family, began life as a pack-pedler walking from town to town selling small goods at the scattered farms, but he saved the money he made and started a small store in 1750 for imported goods in his own house. He accumulated a large fortune for the times and eventually left the town some thirty thousand dollars, part of which was used to start Pinkerton Academy, which is still going.³¹ He had four daughters and one son so most of those by the name of Pinkerton are descended from his brother's

26 Bryant genealogy.

27 Morrison: History of Windham, p. 537.

28 Fred P. Wells: History of Barnet, Burlington, 1922.

29 Letter (1951) from Senator Flanders.

30 Parker's Londonderry, p. 271.

31 Parker's Londonderry, p. 273.

two sons. Susannah married Joseph Patterson of Henniker. The Pattersons had lots of Duncan intermarriages for Hannah, a daughter of John Duncan of the fourth generation, married a Thomas Patterson of Londonderry some time after 1800, and Elizabeth Patterson married William Duncan of Candia,³² but just where this Joseph of Henniker fits into the Patterson picture is not clear.

Jane Duncan married her first cousin Abraham, the son of John and Rachel (Todd) Duncan. Elizabeth married Thomas Moore of Acworth, which is easily accounted for by the fact that three of her brothers were in Acworth, but there seems to be no further data about her family though there were a lot of Moores in Londonderry. Margaret married William Adams of the third generation of the Londonderry Adamses. His father was a soldier and later a captain in the Revolution. Margaret had three daughters, Mary, Jane and Sarah,³³ but that is all that appears about them. These Duncan girls were not usually old maids, however.

ROBERT (SON OF GEORGE AND MARGARET CROSS DUNCAN)
AND ISABELLA CALDWELL

While the three older Duncan sons settled down in Londonderry and raised their large families on farms there, Robert seems to have moved to Boston soon, if in truth, he ever got beyond Boston. He married Isabella Caldwell, but whether before or after leaving Londonderry is not recorded. There were Caldwells in Londonderry but she was the daughter of John Caldwell (1666-1732) and his wife Isabella Wasson both of County Antrim, Ireland³⁴ said to have settled in Portsmouth, N. H. She was born in 1711, and died in 1749,³⁵ so somebody must know something about her. By 1737, Robert had joined the Charitable Irish Society in Boston,³⁶ so was probably there by that time. He must have been the best business-

32 Parker's Londonderry, p. 292. (See note 20)

33 Parker's Londonderry, p. 255.

34 Letter Oct. 7, 1949, of Robert H. Stevenson, Esq. of Boston.

35 Bryant genealogy.

36 Bolton's Pioneers.

man among George's sons for he was made executor of his father's will and he had the custody of his brother Abraham's legacy.

Robert and Isabella had five children but disaster seemed to follow the family in most cases. Margaret married John Boies of Milton, lived in Boston and died childless. George married Sally McHard of Haverhill. She was probably the daughter of James McHard who was a pretty active citizen in Haverhill around 1750. He probably lived in the West Parish and kept a slave or two. He petitioned for land near the foot of Pecker St., to run a distillery and was all mixed up in the town meeting row of 1747-8. He was one of the six men named in the grant of six townships in Maine beyond the Penobscot River which included James Duncan,³⁷ Isaac Osgood, David Marsh and others though Jonathan Buck³⁸ was the only one who ever went to Maine. His name is also on the list of petitioners for a grant of the town of Rumford, Maine. He and probably his sons Thomas and James served in the militia either during the last French war, or during the Revolution.³⁹ In short the McHards were real people and no doubt Sally was of this family. Sally unfortunately lost her husband within a year and had no children by him.

The only other son in this family was Robert and his life was a tragedy. He married a Rand, but who or where does not appear. They had four children, but Robert himself and all but one of his children died of consumption without issue.

The daughter Isabella⁴⁰ was the conspicuous member of this family. She married Matthew Stevenson, son of Thomas Stevenson of Glasgow, and settled in Cohasset. Matthew was born in 1736 and died in 1775. Isabella seems to have died the same year.

Of their two sons both named William, the first died

³⁷ Youngest son of George and Margaret Cross Duncan.

³⁸ Founder of Bucksport.

³⁹ George W. Chase: History of Haverhill, Haverhill, p. 243 etc.

⁴⁰ Mrs. Samuel H. Wolcott of Milton owns a portrait of Isabella.

in infancy, but the other married Hannah Greeley and a long line of Boston Stevensons come from them. Isabella their daughter married Joshua Thomas of Plymouth and left three daughters. Margaret married Alden Bradford, who was born 1765 and died 1843. They left eight children of whom the eldest, Margaret, married William H. Eliot.^{40a} It would require a separate volume to follow the ramifications of this Stevenson tribe who run off through the Eliots, Curtises and Dwights, but it is remarkable how often the name Duncan occurs in the names in all the families in the next generation.

ABRAHAM, SON OF GEORGE AND MARGARET CROSS DUNCAN

About Abraham we know very little, he evidently left Londonderry and went to Boston. It seems likely that he cost his father considerable money for he cut him off with a small legacy and entrusted even that to his brother Robert. The family record shows that he went to North Carolina, married a rich widow and soon died without issue. Many northern men were sent south before the Revolution, to represent northern merchants, and his brother might well have sent him to Edenton or Beaufort for this purpose, but this is conjecture not recorded fact.

ESTHER, DAUGHTER OF GEORGE
AND MARGARET CROSS DUNCAN

Esther married a Mr. James Cassin or Cassan and settled in Valentine, Connecticut, but no such place as Valentine is known to the modern atlas. It is probably a small village in some township or has changed its name.

LONDONDERRY, ANTRIM, PETERBOROUGH, HANCOCK,
HENNIKER AND ACWORTH

Before taking up James the last of the emigrant sons of George, who will be considered in the next instalment, it is well to look at the sort of country this clan of Duncans had chosen for their promised land. Unless you followed the sea the only industry by which you could make a living in New England in 1750, was farming and the

40a Bryant genealogy.

small attendant services, such as the grist mill, the saw mill, the fulling mill, and the carding mill, and for the few shrewd, able and economical men, the country store. This required much land to support a rapidly growing farm population. The many beautiful fast running brooks and small rivers which their simple engineering could dam and convert into small water powers were also of great value. The great water powers of the large rivers could not yet be controlled. Until the Indian menace was eliminated by the conquest of Canada in 1763, advance to the northward was perilous in the extreme, but by that time, the pressure of population on the scant productivity of the New England soil already possessed, was great, and the difficulty of making a fair living even by working from "sun to sun" as these people all did, was felt by all, so as soon as they could they pressed northward. The great fertile valleys like those of the Merrimack and the Connecticut were early preempted, and then the lesser valleys were explored.

Londonderry is beautiful rolling country with fairly high long ridges the slopes of which made fair farms, especially when first cleared, and the falls on the Beaver River supplied many small water powers. The farms, however, could not support increasing numbers of families, as the young people grew up and they pushed off into the smaller valleys to the north and west. The country to the north and east was largely infertile sand plains, and the Merrimack valley with its great fertile meadows was largely occupied when the grandchildren of the first Londonderry settlers started moving out, so they went west across the Merrimack and up the valley of the Souhegan River across the Packmonadnocks to Peterborough where they found a friendly land with many small water powers and some good farms, but less level than Londonderry, then they pushed on down the valley of the Contoocook to Hancock, Antrim, Hillsboro and Henniker. Except perhaps at Antrim they were not the first settlers, but they arrived before all the good land was taken up and left a definite impression on these towns. The mountains to the northward of Hillsboro were forbidding, and by none too

easy a route they reached Acworth in the first valley east of the Connecticut. There are the traces of Londonderry people in many other towns like the Todds in New London and Warner, and the Starks in Dunbarton, but we are only interested here in the spread of the Duncan family. Perhaps these exiled Scots took to these lovely small New Hampshire valleys because they were hill people and it was in their blood to love hills and clear running brooks, little fertile meadows and pretty glens. These people are not plains people and they are not happy with vast horizons, and muddy rivers.

THE BELLS OF LONDONDERRY

Before leaving Londonderry to take up the fortunes of the last of the emigrant sons of the emigrant, a word should be said about the Bells and the Todds. No families were ever more closely allied than the Bells, the Todds and the Duncans. It should be remembered that George, William and James Duncan all married daughters of John Bell, that the eldest brother John had married Rachel Todd, who was a sister of Mrs. John Bell, and that Rachel's son John married Mary, another daughter of John Bell, who was of course his own cousin. There were also other Todd-Duncan marriages as the years went on. The net result is that there was about as much Bell and Todd blood in the Duncan family as there was Duncan blood.

John Bell came to Londonderry in 1720, seven years ahead of George Duncan but did not bring his wife and two daughters till 1722.⁴¹ Andrew Todd arrived the same year. As John Bell and John, the eldest son of George Duncan, had both married sisters of Andrew Todd, and John Bell is known to have come from Ballymony, it is strong corroborative evidence that the Duncans lived there also. Mrs. James Todd, the mother of Elizabeth Bell and Rachel Duncan, was Rachel Nelson who died in 1745, and family tradition says she was of the family of Lord Nelson though long before his time. Anyway she was born in Scotland and two of her sons who later emigrated to Boston were graduates of the University of

41 Parker's Londonderry, p. 262.

Edinburgh.⁴² In short these Todds were educated and interesting people and tradition has it that old Rachel Nelson Todd held her head up pretty well. The Todds were members of the East Parish, which was the original parish of the proprietors, and Rachel has a big tomb on the main path of the old cemetery.⁴³

John Bell was quite a character in the settlement and as an original proprietor had many valuable grants in the town, while the Duncans had to buy all their land. He was a justice of the peace and his profile still preserved is that of a keen and intelligent man. His son Samuel moved to New York and married Sarah Storow, while his other son John married Mary Ann Gilmore and moved to Chester. John was the father of John Bell, Governor of New Hampshire in 1828.

It is, however, the daughters we are chiefly interested in here. Letitia was married to Deacon George Duncan and Naomi to Captain William before their father made his will in 1743, and both of their husbands are left small legacies in money and land and George is joined with Andrew Todd as executor.⁴⁴ Curiously he leaves his grandson John, the son of George Duncan and Letitia Bell, forty acres of land, but does not mention any other grandsons of whom there were several then living. This may have been because he was a namesake, but he had at least two other grandsons by the name of John then living. He authorized George to sell the land for his son John's benefit before he came of age and four years later George did deed it back to Samuel Bell for £40.⁴⁵ This grandson was the one who married Mary Duncan later and moved to Antrim. George Duncan, the son of John and Rachel (Todd) Duncan, who later married Mary Bell is not mentioned in the will.

Now there is a strong tradition in the family that later the Duncans did not get along well with old lady Bell, John Bell's widow, but that feud must have grown up after the old man's death. The third Bell daughter, Elizabeth, eventually announced that she was going to marry

42 Ibid, p. 301.

43 See Willey: Book of Nutfield, p. 349.

44 Will of John Bell—N. H., Historical Society.

45 Deed in N. H. Historical Society.

James Duncan and the story is that old lady Bell ordered her out of the house if she did. Now this James, whose career we shall presently follow, forsook the established path of his older brothers of settling as a respectable farmer in Londonderry and becoming an elder in the church, etc., and became a pack pedler trading to the farmers in the adjoining towns. Mrs. Bell may not have considered this profession quite respectable. Even his great-granddaughters in the next century were inclined not to mention this stage of his career, but Mrs. Bell need not have worried for Elizabeth became the mother of the most honored and successful family of the whole group. The fact that her youngest daughter Mary also married a Duncan, the nephew of the others, namely George the son of John Duncan and Rachel Todd, may not have assuaged the old lady Bell's feelings even though he was her own nephew.

Now of course four Bell girls could not have married four Duncans without Yankee wits making jokes about it. On one side there are stories of the necessity of belling the wild Duncans and on the other side that the brilliant Duncans got all the belles in Londonderry. These merry quips and all the changes on them have been handed down to the present generation in the family.

Whether the story about old lady Bell is true or not, there never was any great intimacy between the Duncan family descended from Elizabeth Bell, and the Todd and Bell families in the later generations. Old lady Bell lived nearly thirty years after her husband died and there was lots of time to carry on a family feud, but John Bell's will seems to show that he had no aversions to the Duncans, so it probably began as a petticoat affair.

This feud went on for a couple of generations for there was no great warmth of feeling between Gov. John Bell of New Hampshire and Col. James H. Duncan, who was a member of Congress in the middle of the nineteenth Century and first mayor of Haverhill. The present writer has not been able to find a scrap of written evidence of the Bell-Duncan feud but has heard the story from many old members of the family sixty or so years ago.

(To be continued)

A PROPOSED STATUE TO GEORGE PEABODY, PHILANTHROPIST, 1869

DOCUMENT EDITED BY DAVID LINDSEY

On November 4, 1869, George Peabody, self-expatriated American financier and philanthropist, died in London. Only a short time before, he had returned from a visit to his native land to discover that the Prince of Wales had unveiled a statue of him on the east side of London's Royal Exchange. His death was now mourned by thousands on both sides of the Atlantic who had benefited from his generous gifts. His fortune, large for an American of his day, had been distributed widely. Recipients of his benefactions included Harvard and Yale Universities, each of which had received \$150,000 for natural history museums, Peabody Institute in Baltimore with \$1,500,000 for a library, free lectures, art exhibits and music concerts, Peabody Education Fund with \$3,500,000 for the promotion of education in the impoverished, post-Civil War South and the city of London with \$2,500,000 for the construction of homes for workers' families.¹

Many thousands of dollars were also given to the Salem East India Marine Society, now the Peabody Museum of Salem, the Peabody Institute Library of Danvers and the Peabody Institute Library of Peabody, all in Massachusetts.

After Peabody's death funeral services were held in his memory at Westminster Abbey. Among those in attendance was Queen Victoria, who a few months earlier had offered to knight the American financier, an honor that he had declined with thanks. Now Peabody's remains were carried to the United States on board the *H. M. S. Monarch* with American and French warships as a naval escort.²

1 Scott H. Paradise, "George Peabody," *Dictionary of American Biography*, ed. by Dumas Malone (20 vols., New York, 1928-1937), XIV, 337. J. Ramsay Macdonald, "George Peabody," *Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee (22 vols.; London, 1921-1922), XV, 575-576.

2 Paradise, *op. cit.*, pp. 337-388. Macdonald, *op. cit.*, pp. 575-576.

Less than two months after Peabody's death, another American expatriate, Joel T. Harris,³ a Kentucky-born sculptor residing in Florence, Italy, proposed that a statue be executed in memory of George Peabody. Hart embodied this suggestion in a letter to Samuel Sullivan Cox,⁴ member of the United States Congress from New York City. During the previous summer Cox and his wife had visited Hart's studio in Florence and both had sat for their busts to be carved in Italian marble. Now Hart proposed that Cox take a hand in persuading the United States government or New York City to erect a statue of Peabody, with Hart commissioned to do the work. The following extract is from Hart's letter to Cox, dated December 23, 1869, from Florence, Italy.⁵

"23 December, 1869

Certain 'Rabids' here of big names having so detracted, & especially since the late honours shown to the memory of the great philanthropist, Peabody, prompted the enclosed stanza which I shall publish in my 'epic.'

I, too, like Mr. Peabody & yourself, take a broad view of this our Great and *whole* American family, and that while I would not make a sectional monument,⁶ to mootify [sic] a part of my brave countrymen, for any consideration, though a Union man always,—yet I should be proud of the honour of making a Statue of Geo. Peabody who was my personal friend, for our capital, or for N. York.

You have more work of the greatest importance, to do[,] I know, yet, if you were to take this into your head,

3 Harris had executed statues of Henry Clay, Andrew Jackson and others. He died in 1877. Mantle Fielding, ed. *Dictionary of American Painters, Sculptors and Engravers* (Philadelphia, c. 1926), p. 237.

4 Cox served in Congress from Ohio, 1857-1865, and from New York City, 1869 until his death in 1889 with but a two-year break when he served as American Minister to Turkey. During 1869 Cox had traveled in France, Italy, Spain, Algiers and Corsica and wrote of his experiences in *A Search for Winter Sunbeams* (New York, 1869).

5 This letter is in the present writer's possession.

6 Referring to Civil War statues that were already arising in the United States.

you could do more with your influence in this thing than any other man in the U.S.

Just between ourselves,—might not this work all around splendidly—A Man of World wide fame—honor, pride in it—I had just thought of it, and coppied [sic] the stanza I enclose. I could have access to all the best likenesses of him as the study.—I have never sought but one statue, Clay—and that has been made a study for the like at home, & abroad.

What a handsome mutual compliment it would be for you to present me the doing of the statue through vote,—or by subscription; & I present to you that Grand Bust you saw at my studio, of Gen. Jackson,⁷ with his famous letter about it; and the one of his staff—they should all go together:—

Or something else in your own way—What think you of it?

Your old friend,
J. T. Hart.

Hon. S. S. Cox.”

Hart enclosed the following poem:

George Peabody

Whate'er the frailties of a Soul so great,
Few are so small as try to soil his name:
Alike the Prince and Beggar on him wait
To show their homage, while the Nations claim
To bow around his cenotaph of fame:—
For Man the Virtues, in their work begun,
The more shall glow from splendours of his flame;
Show the Great Mother, and her glorious Son
How Fortune can reach Fame; and Rivals may be one.

⁷ This must have had a special appeal for Cox who always considered himself an old-fashioned Jacksonian Democrat.

FRANCIS LOW, A SALEM YOUTH DIES ON BOARD SHIP IN THE CHINA SEA

NOTES BY ELMA LOINES

Francis Low was the eighth child and sixth son of Seth Low. He was probably born in the Crombie Street house in Salem of which his sister Harriet speaks with such affection in her Macao Journal. His mother was Mary Porter, daughter of Thomas and Ruth Allen Porter of Topsfield and his uncle was known as Deacon Elijah Porter of Salem. He was born on September 9th, 1819, and ten years later almost to a day, his family removed from Salem where the harbor was silting up and shipping affected to New York, where his father had begun anew his export and import business in drugs on Fletcher Street. Before moving down he had begun to build two houses on Concord Street, Brooklyn for himself and his younger brother William Henry Low, who had gone to Canton for five years to be head of the house of Russell & Company and who had taken his niece Harriet Low with him as companion to his wife in Macao, where the ladies had to live.

Francis's first letter at the age of six is written from Salem and shows from his mother's comment at the bottom that he was as bright as his older brothers and sisters. The rest are written at sea.

After a few years in Brooklyn when we have little record of him he evidently became tubercular and as was the custom in those days he was sent on a sea voyage to China to cure him. Unfortunately the air was very damp and the seas unduly rough and¹ he passed away, (fully realizing his approaching death) shortly before reaching China. The ensuing letters speak for themselves.

¹ For further data relating to the Salem Lows see The Canton Letters edited by J. D. Phillips in E. I. H. C., for July and October, 1948.

Francis Low to his father, Seth Low in New York.

(Salem) April 4th, 1829.

Dear Father,

I should like to see you very much. Uncle Porter gave me a pair of boots, which were worn out a little but Mother had them mended and they have lasted me through the bad weather, but they are going now.

I am at the head of my class. I have had lectures four times for being up to the head and shall soon have it again. We have had the snow rather deep this winter so that Mother Kep(t) us all at home. Mother has bought me a Manuscript and I have wrote some in it and Mother thinks I have wrote it very well.

Your Affectionate Son

Francis Low.

(Very carefully written in copy book child's hand on lines ruled in pencil.)

Her letter follows on the same sheet as Francis's (Extract only.)

Mary P. Low to her husband, Seth Low in New York.

Dear Husband,

Francis has been very anxious to write you, and I thought you would be gratified to receive a few lines from him, but it is by no means a fair specimen of his writing. I think he improves as fast as any of his brothers in all his studies.

To his Father Seth Low in New York.

Francis Low on board ship [*Cabot* (Captain Loring)]

at Gibraltar. Dec. 8th, 1835.

My Dear Father,

This you will probably receive per Brig *Concordia*, Capt. Lewis, formerly Capt. Low, which is only waiting for a wind.

I have written you by the Swedish Brig. *Thetis* which I thought would have sailed 2 weeks ago, but has not sailed yet. As she is bound for Philadelphia you may get

this first. On board said brig are letters, 3 for you, one for H.(arriet), 1 for Haskell & one for Josiah.²

I received your letters on the 30th Oct., on the 4th & also one from Haskell, both of which you may be sure I was rejoiced to get & was sorry they were not longer. We have now discharged all the tobacco but 25 hhds., which we can get out in an hour. We have then to take in over 100 ton of lead & discharge some staves & have some knees to put in the ship & get a fair wind, clear out of this miserable, abominable, rainy, damp, rocky, tiresome, wally-soldier pen. I shall not bring home any Japan wood. Mr Greene says there is a hundred ton coming home in the ship & I believe the Captain is going to bring some too.

The *Delaware* arrived here on Sunday night & is bound directly home, I shall not write by her.

I saw them firing at a target again yesterday. They fire shot & then shells. They hit it several times, I think, from what I could see with a glass. The target is 3 bbls. with a flag and stationed 2 or 3 miles in the Bay. Have not been on shore today. I am going tomorrow if it is pleasant to dine with Mr. Lindblad at 1½ past 2.

I suppose I should say something about my health. I am sorry that I can't say that my cough has gone, but I can assure you that setting aside that, I feel better, a great deal, & my cough *is better*, but you cannot expect a cough to get better & in such a place as this where it rains all the time, nor yet at sea with such a constant succession of rain as we have had. I am in good spirits with a good appetite. Bye the bye, just tell Mother to save me a piece of pie, & as for the turkey, I'll take a leg, a wing & a piece of the breast, with some of the gizzard. Put it by the fire and keep it warm. I'm talking about Thanksgiving, you know. You will please tell Josiah to write E.(dward) Porter (a cousin) & tell him such news as he finds in my letters.

As I have exhausted my fund of news by former letters

2 His sister and brothers.

therefore, with God's blessing on you all & with my prayers for your health and safety.

I remain
Your ever affectionate
Son F. Low.

To Seth Low, Esq.
Merchant
N. York
211 Pearl St.

Gibraltar. Dec. 22nd, 1835.

Dear Father,

It is now fast approaching to Christmas & whether we will be here or not is a matter of uncertainty. Although when this reaches you it will have passed, that is the 1st of January. I wish you all a happy New Year & hope that I may be in to have the end (of the year) with you.

We are now all ready for sea, but unless you have a five knot breeze from the Eastward there is no getting out of here. The Cu'rr't (current) that sets in to the Straits is a 4 knotter.

I wrote you in another letter that my \$350. was stolen by the Cook & Steward. The Captain of course is responsible. I shall have to come home without anything to show for it unless Abbot will advance it. If you receive this in time, you will please write to me, or Abbot. Perhaps you had better write to A. The other letter, as this, will be sent after I am gone unless we are detained by wind a great while.

Next month (Jan'y) the flowers will come out, in fact they have already begun to come up. I noticed it a day or two ago as I was riding with Mr and Mrs L. &c. &c.

I have written a great many letters home & have received two *from* home. In my letters you must not laugh if you see a great deal of nonsense, or *homesickness*, being so long in this miserable place, raining every day, gave me the worst of *the blues*.

I am now fitted as regards provisions & dk. for a long voyage, having on hand: One Box of Gingerbread,³ Some

³ Called by Harriet's family *fairy gingerbread* and still made by her descendants. It is wafer thin.

little crackers, two pots of pickled oysters, one box of Raisins, best Malaga, one bottle of wine, one bottle of *Hives Syrrup*, One & 1/2 bottles of Pulmonary Balsam &c. &c., &c. I know of nothing more that will interest you. On New Years Day, if I am alive & well, I will drink your health in some of the 'deira & hoping that you will also mine. I remain with love to all,

Your Affectionate Son

F. Low.

Please tell Grandmother to write to Salem & tell all news that you can find in these letters. & tell H.(arriet) to remember me to *Rose Geranium*. Good bye! Good bye! Good bye! *My home is on the deep!*

Excuse everything.

Francis Low to his father, Seth Low in New York.

Ship *Cabot*. 2nd April, 1836.

Dear Father,

We sailed from Gibraltar on the 23rd Dec., with a strong easterly wind which took us out of the straits in fine style. On the 28th or 29th we encountered very rough weather, with a very short irregular sea which was very annoying to a person wishing to sit still.

6th of Jan'y. Being desirous of tasting my oysters, I opened one of the pots, when lo and behold! they were ruined. I opened the other pot, ditto. The next day I opened my gingerbread which was good. On the 13th Spoke Barque *Palinure* of Boston, Capt. Robt. Henderson, (sic), 40 days out from Norfolk bound to Cape of Good Hope, in Long. 23°, 7' West. He wished to know if we had a Physician on board. Told him we had not, that probably he would find one on board the ship then astern. We supplied him with a sheep & some pumpkins & stood on our course.

We also spoke a whaler off the Cape, the *Gen'l Pike* of New Bedford, 9 mos. out, 10 days from Cape Town, 1600 bbls. of oil.

About two days before we made the Cape & from there with little intermission, to St Paul's, we encountered nothing but stormy weather which reduced me so much

that I was unable to go up the Cabin stairs without being very tired. I have suffered a great deal but have experienced every attention that I could on board of a ship. The comforts of home & the kind attentions of a mother will often force themselves upon me, but I keep up my spirits as well as I am able, knowing that God knows what is best for me & will do it.

It is very probable the ship will go home from Manila, in which case I shall go up to Canton by the first opportunity & God willing, home from there as soon as possible.

The ship will be detained at least six weeks in Manila to repair damages, as we broke our fore & main yard & sprung our foremast off S. Paul's. We are now near Java Head & if the wind holds hope to make it tomorrow. This morning the land is in sight in the shape of a very high hill which is the lower part of Java. About 12 made Java Head, at 4 entered the Straits, at 6 passed the second point, at 10 passed the 3rd, when we were becalmed almost all the rest of the night. This morning we are going about 6 knots. Hope to see Anger this afternoon, & also wishing for a restoration of health & with my daily prayers for your preservation, hoping that I may once more see you in this world, I remain

Your affectionate son
Francis Low.

P.S.

There is a ship in sight ahead which the Capt. thinks is the *Girard*, that sailed 9 days before us from Gibraltar, bound to Manila.

Give my love to all both great and small. Give a kiss to little George Archer for Pank.⁴

Ship Gibraltar.
Seth Low, Esq.
New York.

Manila, May 29th, 1836. (sic)

Sir,

It is with deep regret I am under the necessity of communicating to you the melancholy intelligence of the death

⁴ Francis died May 5th, 1836, in his 16th year.

of your son (and my much loved little friend) Frank. This event took place at sea on board of the Ship *Cabot* the 5th Instant. As I had a little conversation with him on the day of his death, I will write you below all he told me. I deemed it best (unpleasant as it was,) to make him acquainted with his situation and as I had watched with him during the night, in the morning I told him that his disease had reached its height and that he ought to prepare himself for the worst by hearing some prayers read and telling me anything he had to say, at the same time promising him the strictest secrecy. He said: "I wish you would tell my brother in Canton⁵ how kind you have all been to me, particularly you. Give my kind love to my Father, Mother, Brothers and Sisters. I hope I shall live, but my life is in God's hands and he can take it when he pleases. I may have some more to say, but will talk another time."

10 A.M. I had been reading to him some prayers for the sick and one of Ware's Discourses, and he paid much attention, raising his little hands and looking up in prayer.

2.P.M. "It is a very hard thing to die. I hope if I die you will have a long life," "Do you feel willing to die, Frank?" "I hope so. Stoop down and kiss me. Tell my Father I remember them all. Captain Loring has been very kind. I think I have been fortunate in being with you. Try to comfort me. If my Mother was here she would cry, I think. The letter in my trunk for my brother is open. I can't live long at this rate, my breath is so short." At 6 P.M. he asked to have his back rubbed and while it was doing cried out: "Give me some cologne. Oh dear, dear." And before it could be got to his nose he was dying, and was a corpse in 39 seconds. Thus was cut off in the flower of his youth a boy sincerely loved and respected by all who knew him, and his death, I assure you, was most deeply felt by all on board, particularly by the writer. Had my wife been there I could have done no better. ||

5 Abiel Abbot Low, who had gone out to Russell & Co. in 1833 and who became a partner four years later.

Since we passed the Cape his cough increased very rapidly, and all the means were tried which the medical book recommended. The best way for you to judge of his disease would be to take a Physician's book and under *Consumption* you will find every symptom of Frank's.

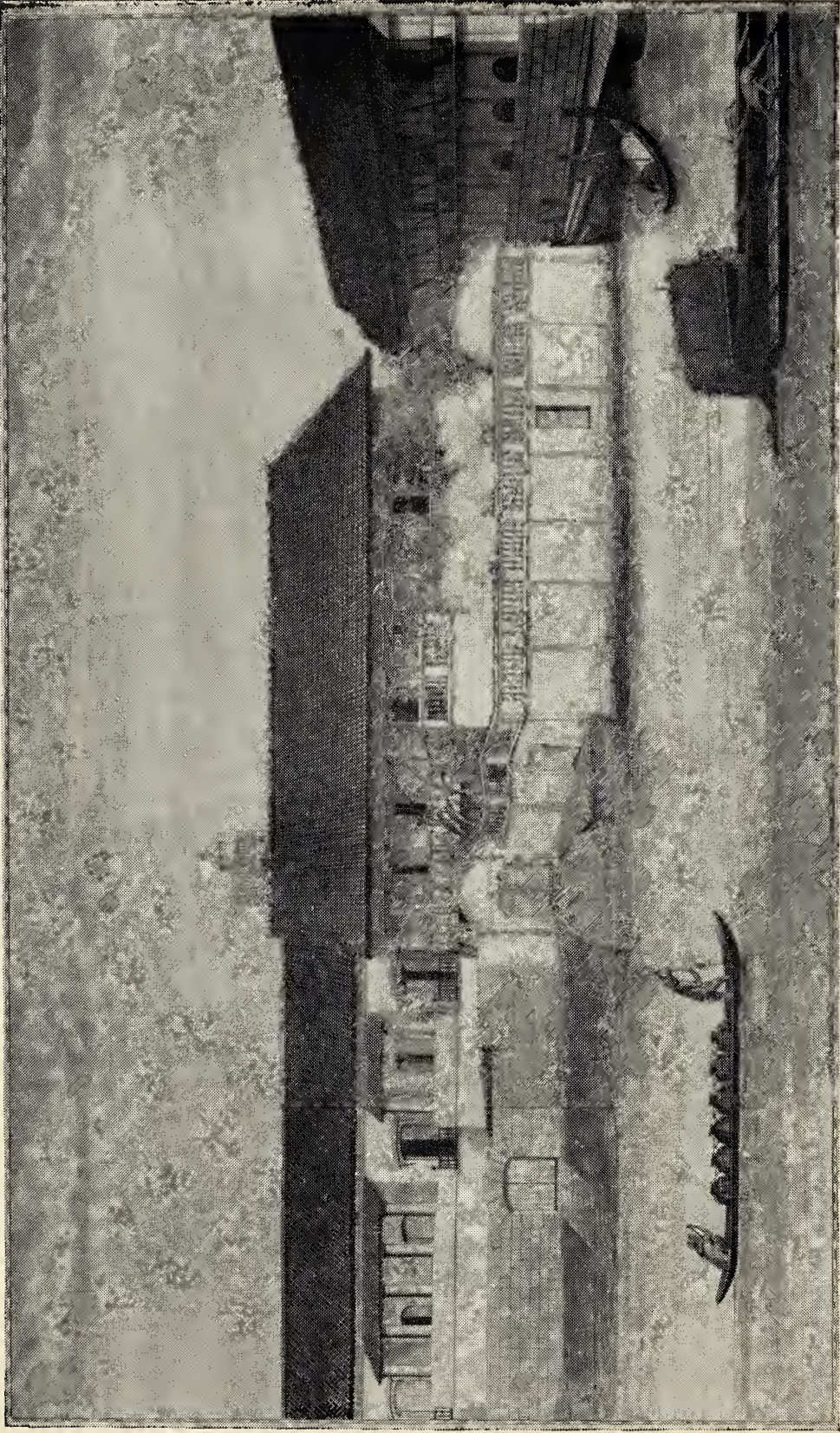
On the 6th his body was enclosed in a strong coffin and committed to the deep amid tears of all on board.

Be pleased, Sir, with your family to accept of my condolence with you on this trying and melancholy event,
And believe me to be

Very respectfully,

Your Obd't. Svt.,

D. Greene.



WAREHOUSE AND RESIDENCE OF PEELE, HUBBEL & CO., MANILA, WITH CHINESE VESSEL IN THE FOREGROUND

THE DAILY LIFE OF
MRS. NATHANIEL KINSMAN
ON A TRIP TO MANILA

Contributed by Mrs. Frederick C. Munroe

(Continued from Volume LXXXVII, page 149)

Mr. Kinsman to W. H. Osborne, Esq.

Manila

Macao 1st. November 1845

My dear Sir:

Mrs. Kinsman with my daughter and niece embark in the *Geneva* for a voyage to Manila the object being for the benefit of the health of our little girl, who has been ill for two or three months. The Physicians here recommend immediate change of climate, which they do not doubt will restore her health. I therefore avail of the present favourable opportunity to place my wife, child¹ and niece under the care of Capt. Drinker and his good lady who have kindly offered them a passage to Manila and back to China.

Their stay at your place is not expected to exceed two or three weeks, and while there I will beg the favour of you to extend to them your kind care and attention. I feel some delicacy in calling upon you but as the necessity of the case compells me to trouble someone, I trust you will excuse the liberty I have taken which I should not have done, had I any doubt that it will afford you pleasure to do all in your power to render their visit comfortable and agreeable. I have suggested to Mrs. Kinsman the plan of taking a cottage in the country and this if practical I will leave for you to arrange.

Any amount of funds that Mrs. K. may require I beg you will advance and charge the same to the account of Wetmore & Co.

It would afford me unspeakable pleasure to accompany my family, but the absence of Mr. Wetmore at the North renders it out of the question for me to leave at this our busy season

- 1 Little girl—Rebecca (Ecca)—6½ years old.
Abbot—just over one year—born in Macao.
Mary Ann Southwick—niece—not quite 18.

of the year. It has caused me a severe struggle to decide the question and I have yielded a reluctant consent to permit them to go without me. . . . My anxiety is alleviated with the confident hope and expectation that the voyage will prove of great benefit to our child. Committing them to the care of Him who careth for us all, and hoping soon to hear of their safe arrival after a pleasant passage, I remain

Yours very truly,
Nathaniel Kinsman

Ship *Geneva* Saturday Nov. 15th 1845.

My dearest Husband—

Here we are eleven days out, and this is the first time I have taken a pen in my hand since we left Macao. We are all well—Ecca began to improve from the first hour we came on board, and altho' she suffered very much from sea-sickness for a week, has had no other trouble whatever—has a good appetite and colour in her cheeks. . . . If she receives no drawback while at Manila, I trust I shall restore her to thee quite well, if so, I shall feel amply repaid for all we have passed through. We are now endeavouring to beat into Manila bay, with a strong head wind—having been in sight of the island of Luconia for four days. We have had a long passage.

. . . We left, as thee knows, on Tuesday at noon, with a fine breeze, which lasted us just outside the Ladrone Islands—By dinner time, it became very rough, & we all (the ladies) felt too sick to appear at table. (Baby, however, was not in the least sick during the passage.) At midnight, the cry of "Capt. Drinker, a strong breeze, Sir," called the Captain on deck, & from that time for *five* successive days & nights, the gale continued with unabated violence. It was a fearful time—For *four* of these days & nights, we were "lying to" under the closest reefs, tossing about at the mercy of winds & waves. I will not enter into the nautical particulars. Capt. D. thinks it was, no doubt, felt at Macao, and that thee will be very anxious until thee hears from us. The first night out, I slept, (or rather *laid*, for sleep did not visit my eyes) in the upper berth, in the outer state room, Ecca in the lower one, & Mary Anne on the hansom, but as I was obliged to get in & out constantly to wait on Ecca, taking baby with me each time & this being no easy matter, the ship rolling so fearfully, I had my mattress placed on the floor, and there, with baby on one arm, I attended to all her wants & my own,

for I was very sea-sick for about 36 hours—for 3 days we were obliged to lie in bed constantly, & it was very wearing to keep the poor baby quiet, as there was only *one way* in which it could be done. At length, feeling myself perfectly exhausted, and knowing that for my children's sake I must make an effort, I requested the Steward to bring me some weak brandy & water—this was the first thing I had been able to keep on my stomach & it produced the desired effect. Afterward I was able to do all that was necessary for my dear little ones. For two days, Ammah was in the inner state room, terribly sea-sick; but finding the combined odours of cocoa-nut-oil & other unmentionables quite too much for our olfactory nerves, and her constant moaning & crying very annoying particularly to poor Ecce, Capt. D. had a berth put up for her in the Steerage, & with considerable difficulty, the Coolie & myself got her out there, & with more we kept her there, as she was very anxious to return to her snug quarters near us. The Coolie has been invaluable to me. The moment he could lift his head, he came in to see what he could do for us, & was very attentive—took care of Ammah entirely after she got into the Steerage, for it is only within two days, that she has been up; now, however, she is perfectly well & seems very happy—for many days she did nothing but—as the Coolie said, “too muchy cry”—Ahow was considerably alarmed, but was quite aware that it was “Jos Pigeon” and when I told him “Capt. Drinker talkee no fear,” he seemed relieved.

Oh what a time for thought was afforded by these days & nights of danger & anxiety. . . . And one night I felt that our fate was certain. There was bitterness in the thought of death far from him I love so tenderly. . . .

During all this long gale, the sun was obscured, & it was therefore impossible to ascertain our position, but knowing that a strong current was setting us down in the vicinity of the Parcelles Shoals, all felt uneasy on this account, tho' no one said so to his neighbour. Our good ship did not leak at all notwithstanding the terrible twisting & tossing she received, & for our good Captain, no language can express my deep sense of the gratitude we owe him for his unwearied assiduity—& kindness—During this long gale, the longest he ever experienced, he scarcely slept at all, but as often as he could leave the deck, came down with cheering words & looks to comfort us below, bringing a bowl of sago &c. &c.

from time to time. Mrs. Drinker showed the greatest firmness & calmness during the whole time.

. . . The Steward is a perfect treasure. He has had a great deal to do both day & night, as the Cook whom Capt. D. took at Macao proved to be good for nothing at all and every thing devolved on the Steward, even making Coffee for the Men, yet he was always smiling & good tempered, tho' called on ever so often, & during the gale, as we could none of us move at all, he had everything to do for us, and all he prepared in the way of food was very, very nice. . . . Very fortunately Capt. Drinker had several canisters of preserved milk left from his home stock, which answered an excellent purpose & lasted for several days. . . . The table is bountifully supplied with every luxury—and nothing but harmony & kind feeling prevails in every department. I admire Capt. D's manner of speaking to his Men—so kind—and to the officers & Steward too. The Sail-maker (I think it is, but am not sure—he may be merely a sailor) is a Son of Mr. Head of Philadelphia, the landlord of the Mansion House in Third St.—a fine looking man, but a regular *Tar*. Mrs. D. often talked with him and his language would have done credit to a drawing room. She said she used often to meet him in Society in Philadelphia. Two fine Bull dogs which they got at the Cape, died during the gale. Two monkeys have afforded much amusement to the children, & Ecce has had great pleasure in petting two very fine cats. Every comfort that can be enjoyed on Ship board, is to be found here, and one which is particularly valuable—plenty of fresh air we have been able to have, owing to the lightness of the ship, which enabled us to keep open the dead lights through the gale, & we had a draught of air constantly through the Steerage, which was a great comfort. . . . Mrs. D. proposes that we have (as they had regularly on the outward passage on Saturday Nights), a Supper & afterwards to sit on the fore-castle and see by moonlight the approach to Manila, which will be very pleasant.

Adieu my beloved for the present—

Ever thy loving Rebecca

(Mrs. Drinker added)

My dear Mr. Kinsman :

Your good wife is quite well and *happy* even without the light of your eye, and Ecce you would think she was not your child so much has she improved by *being under my care*

—then Mary Ann is all you could wish her—*excepting* she is doing sadly for the hearts here and I fear you will have much to answer for when you see the pale faces she will leave behind her—Oh! *it is too bad*. I hope now you will lose her. . . . As we have had a *gale* and a hard time, when we return in safety I think our account will have gained about *100 per cent*. Will you *pay* all that for them? Adieu—

Your good-for-nothing friend,

Sue B. D.

Manila, Sunday Eve'g. Nov. 16th/45

My dearly beloved Husband—

Here we are at last, safely arrived at our place of destination. We anchored in the harbour at about ten o'clock this morning—and soon afterward, Mr. Osborn came on board, and one or two other gentlemen from Mr. Sturgis' house. We came on shore at about two 'oclock, and were received with great kindness by Mr. Edwards & Mr. Cook, Mr. Osborn coming with us. . . . Ecce improved in health constantly from the hour we set sail, & now looks like quite another child. Her cheeks have filled out, and have good colour in them, and her appetite is wonderful. Mr. de Silver has been uniformly polite & gentlemanly & very kind & attentive to Ecce—He has contributed much to our entertainment, by his delightful music on the flute & piano. . . . After the gale abated we had constantly head-winds & were in sight of Manila or rather of Luconia, four days, slowly beating in. We have two very large rooms communicating with each other, appropriated to our use, very handsomely furnished, hung with engravings &c. &c.—The Steward's wife proves to be Eliza, who formerly lived with brother William. She seems delighted to see us, & does everything possible for our comfort. Nothing can exceed the kindness which we are treated by everyone here—We have already enjoyed *two* drives, one after dinner to Santa-Anna some four or five miles out, & again this evening to hear the delightful music of the band. When we first arrived Mr. Osborn requested me to send the Coolie back directly to the ship, as they had a great deal of trouble with Mr. King's boy when here—but when he understood that he was only a *Coolie*,² not a *Boy*, & that he could stay in & about my room & sleep outside my door, he thought there

² "Coolie" and "boy"—a "boy" was probably a superior servant.

would be no difficulty in his remaining. I should have been sorry to have sent him away, as Ammah would have felt very lonely when we are all out, without him, & he is such an in-offensive person, that there can be no fear of his causing trouble, I think. The houses here (or this one which is the only one I have yet seen) are very spacious, far more so than ours at Macao—the doors & floors are of dark wood, nicely polished, no chimneys or glass windows. The Indian boys are quiet, attentive servants, far more so than the China boys, springing with alacrity—when called upon—The table very nice—The Steward here, so his wife tells me, was formerly a boy of Father's—and says he knows me well. I have not yet seen him, but I remember a boy of his name (Aaron) having lived with us for some time—Is it not a little remarkable? A narrow enclosed verandah opens from my room, at one end of which is a water-closet—& at the other a Shanghai bathing tub. Everything as convenient as possible.

The mornings and evenings are delightfully cool, and as yet, it is not hot today, but the mosquitoes are ravenous. Ecce and I have had a talk about Natty this morning—She wonders if he goes to walk every day on the Square and to see the Chinese Merchants, and how John likes Canton. My best love to dear Natty & kind regards to John. This morning, what does thee think we did? We rose at 6-1/2 and went out, intending to go to Mass, went into one or two churches, but at one we were too early & at the others there was no Mass—so after a pleasant drive into the country, we came back again—took chocolate & a bath—and afterward breakfast, now here I am. The darling baby is as good & happy as possible. Tonight we propose sending him out riding with Eliza, it will not answer for Ammah to show herself, as a China Woman is so uncommon a sight here, that she would attract too much notice, & beside, Mr. Osborn says it is a regulation here that no China Woman can come into Manila, and it is an especial favour that she has been permitted to come on shore. . . .

As ever thy truly loving & affectionate
Wife Rebecca

(To her Sister Maria:)

11th Mo. 18th/45 Manila

I left dear little Natty to go to Canton with his father, taking John with him to take charge of him, as I thought the



REBECCA REID KINSMAN (called "Ecca")

Died on the way home from China, 1846

Portrait painted by a Chinese artist

Owned by Mrs. Rebecca Kinsman Munroe

care of Ecce & baby would be quite as much as I could undertake. I should have been very glad to have taken John with me, but Natty could not have got along without him, so I took the Ammah & the favorite Coolie of whom I have before spoken, "Ahow." . . .

We are staying at the house of Peele, Hubbell & Co., where we are receiving the kindest attention from all the members of the house—Mr. Edwards, the Senior partner, as well as our townsmen Wm. H. Osborn and Nathaniel Cook. Manila is a beautiful place, and we enjoy the daily drives exceedingly. They have fine Macadamized roads, good carriages & horses & the people here *never* walk, always ride. The carriages are open barouches, for two people only—most of them—so that Mr. Edwards usually takes me, W. H. Osborn, Mary Anne, & Mr. Cook, Rebecca. Ecce enjoys the drives highly & I think they are of great advantage to her. . . . Manila is a large city surrounded by a wall—with four gates protected by moat & drawbridge as in olden story. The Suburbs are very extensive, & I should think contained as many inhabitants, nearly, as the city itself—All the foreign residents (English, French & Americans) live in the Suburbs—The inhabitants are Spaniards, Indians & Mustegas or half casts—and I wish I could give thee some idea of the grotesque & peculiar figures we see everywhere. The Spaniards are, generally speaking, fine & noble looking men & the ladies many of them handsome. Several Spanish ladies have called on us, who speak English, and I regret more than I can express my inability to speak their own beautiful language. Everyone here speaks Spanish. It is the only language used to the servants & in general intercourse. The Indians & half cast men wear as dress—a pair of pants white or coloured as it may be, and a shirt of white cotton or more often of coloured Pêna, worn *outside*. This is their only dress—and strikes a stranger very oddly at first—The women wear a loose skirt of plaided cotton stuff—tied around the waist—& with a little fullness in it—outside of this, the Indian women wear a tight strip of cloth about a yard in depth, & rather more in length, which they wind tightly around them, fastening it by tucking in one end. A short jacket of muslin white or coloured, reaching *just to the waist*, completes the dress—as the skirt is tied around the waist—and the jacket (or chemise) just meets it, of course this being perfectly loose, when they lift their arms, it exposes their persons—with the outside tight wrapper, the Mustegas dispense, but

usually add a square handkerchief, worn around the neck, often of embroidered Pêna, the ends of which they hold down over the waist. The head is always uncovered except by the most abundant and beautiful hair, & the feet are protected by little sandals which admit *4 of the toes*, the small toe, always being *outside*. The difficulty of walking without losing off these tiny sandals, and the necessity of keeping a very upright position, rather throwing back the figure than otherwise, to keep on the dress, gives them a very peculiar gait—or manner of walking, which however is not ungraceful & has a degree of energy & dignity in it. They are very fond of jewels, and many of the Musteça women possess them of considerable value. We went the other day to the house of a respectable baker & confectioner—to see a procession pass. He had several daughters, one of whom was really pretty. She showed us a pair of diamond earrings, & a pin which she said cost her more than \$300 dollars. She took down her long beautiful hair and was much gratified apparently by my touching it & admiring its gloss & softness—which was of course all done by dumb show, as she could not understand what I said—It is a remarkable peculiarity of the Native-born women that they all have the most luxuriant hair, & we often see them walking with it spread over their shoulders. The Spanish women have likewise usually good hair. There is a good deal of gayety here, and it is in many respects, a much more desirable place of residence than China—The roads are very good, & the country very pretty. The carriages here are drawn by two horses (a few dignitaries of church & state are allowed to drive *four*, but this is not often seen.) A postilion rides one of the horses, so that the occupant of the carriage has nothing to do but throw himself back at his ease & enjoy his drive. We ride every evening after dinner, & thee may well suppose that we enjoy this luxury, after having been so long deprived of it—Sometimes we go also in the morning, when we feel like rising very early, as it is necessary to return before the sun gets up much, or it becomes too warm. Twice we have been out in the morning, leaving here about 6—and returning at 7 or half past seven, and the mornings are charming. Mr. Edwards usually takes me out with him in the afternoon. He is from Connecticut, & his father was a former Governor of that State—he is a gentleman of standing & influence. The carriages have only seats for two grown persons.

The family at the House now consists, besides the three

partners, of Edward Towne, a cousin of Hannah Cross, and a most excellent young man—but unfortunately in very delicate health—he is a clerk in the House. A Spanish gentleman, also a clerk, a gentleman by the name of Cunningham from Boston, Supercargo of several vessels, & Dr. Pepper, a passenger per *Geneva* from Philadelphia, with ourselves, complete the family. . . . We do not visit much as I do not like to leave Ecça. We have dined once with Mrs. Sturgis—and had a very pleasant visit, but Ecça was so unhappy at the idea of our leaving her, that I have since declined all invitations to dinner parties. We can take her with us on all other occasions, & when we go out in the evening we leave her happily in bed. Baby is as good & happy as possible and trots round the house to the amusement of these bachelor gents, tho' they say *not* to their annoyance. We have been shopping once, & intend going again. There are some very good shops here, mostly kept by China-men, who all speak Spanish, & are many of them rich men. One wealthy merchant called this morning to see Ammah. She is the only China Woman on the island, as there is a law forbidding Chinese females to land here, and it is a special favour that she was permitted to come. Wm. H. Osborne says several China men have called here, wishing to see her, but she does not like to exhibit herself, and it was with the greatest difficulty that I could prevail on her to go into the hall to see the one who came this morning. The houses here are very spacious, much more so than in Macao, but not as nicely finished for they are very *strongly* built to resist the earthquakes with which they are not unfrequently visited. There are open volcanoes in the mountains not far distant—There are many fine old churches; the altars & images rich with gold & silver, brought, as I could not help thinking the other day, while standing before one of these altars, from Mexico & Peru, very probably, wrested from those poor natives by their unrelenting Masters. There is a direct descendant of Cortes living here, & an illegitimate Son of Ferdinand 7th was pointed out to me the other evening in a public hall, paying his addresses to a Spanish lady, & a fine looking young man I thought him—But I have scribbled enough for one morning—so adieu best beloved for to-day.

Third day morning 12th Mo. 2d

. . . But oh, how unlike a December morning at home—mild & delightful—we wear our thinnest muslin dresses all

the time—I have twice worn the silk balzonine (?) thee sent me (and it was very much admired,) but found it almost too warm for comfort—My husband writes me that the weather in Canton is now very cold—so that they find fires necessary & Natty is wearing his winter clothes—The houses here have no fireplaces. . . . Altho' we are in a tropical climate, we see very few flowers, which surprises me. The Spaniards have no taste for them & there is not a garden in Manila of any pretensions. The excursion I mentioned yesterday was “up the river” as it is called—The name of the river I do not know—We rose at 5 o'clock, & at 6 left the house—leaving Ecce quietly in bed—rode two or three miles (Wm. Osborn, Dr. Pepper, M. & myself)—to a village called Santa-Anna—then got into a boat called a “Banca” a sort of canoe; and were rowed by 6 men 6 or 8 miles further to another village. We there got out of the boat, walked to the top of a beautiful hill, from which we had a charming view of the country around, studded with churches & convents—took a cup of chocolate (made at the moment by the Manila Boys whom we took with us,) bread, sandwiches, &c—a word about this chocolate. It is in balls like some that Daniel Pope once sent his sisters from Mexico—It is made in a small vessel expressly for the purpose—A small quantity of milk is boiled, while boiling, several of these balls are thrown in, which dissolve immediately, & then it is stirred violently for a few moments with a wooden instrument resembling that used to squeeze the juice from lemons—and then poured foaming into *very small* China cups, one of which is as much as a person can drink, it is so extremely rich—Then we returned home in the boat enjoying, as we sailed down the river, the beautiful scenery on its banks—country seats, groves of bamboo & palm trees, cocoanut trees &c. &c., groups of natives going in their boats to neighbouring churches to Mass, others going up the river to bathe &c. &c.—reached home in time for a late breakfast. I am interrupted, so must leave for today. *Fourth day 3rd.* Dearest. The interruption proved to be a call from Messrs. De Silver & Carey, two American gentlemen from China—the former of whom came over passenger with us—I don't know whether I have told thee that Mrs. Drinker has her Piano on board, and as Mr. De Silver plays & sings admirably, when the weather permitted, we had fine music on the passage over. He also plays extremely well on the flute. After they had gone, Mrs. Santa Coloma came, & brought her four children—the eldest

a pretty little girl of 8 years, who speaks French & Spanish with fluency, sings, plays on the piano &c. They staid *two hours* so that I had only time to prepare for dinner after they had gone. After dinner, we rode out as usual—Ecca was very much in hopes of getting an invitation to ride out with Mr. Towne & Dr. Pepper who go together in Dr. P's carriage—So she put on her black silk tunic & little drawn bonnet, & went into the Hall to be in waiting, and when I went out, she stood hand in hand with the Doctor, the desired invitation having been given. On the way back, they took her to the "Cosmorama"³ to look at some beautiful pictures—which she thought beautiful. We do a good deal in the way of buying, as there are many things to be had here, not to be found at Macao. This morning, I bought some English pearl or hair powder, a quantity that would astonish an inhabitant of a cool climate where prickly heat is not known—5 lbs.!! and some soap, etc. Ecca is sitting near me, putting together a dissected picture. She is certainly looking much better than when we left Macao, but a much longer residence here is not desirable, for here it is too warm. In another week I hope the *Geneva* will be ready for sea. . . . I think the sea voyage desirable for Ecca. The *Geneva* is being coppered—which is the cause of our being detained here rather longer than we expected. Wm. H. Osborn has very kindly invited us to remain for another month and proposed to take a house for us in the country, and come in town himself every morning & return before dinner. I feel as if I must return to China. I am rejoiced to hear that Dear Willie has gained in self control, and is on the whole a better boy than last year. Those long vacations are trying occasions. Two more ships the *Farwell* & *T. Perkins* will sail from here shortly. I shall try to have a letter in readiness for them.

And now, my darling Sister, with warmest love to dear Father & Mother and all my beloved ones at home, I must close, tho' very unwilling to send any blank paper—With earnest wishes for all blessings on thee, my darling one—I am as ever thy own affectionate & loving Sister

Rebecca

3 Cosmorama. An exhibition of views made to appear natural by mirrors, lenses, illumination, etc.—(Webster).

Manila, First-day—Nov. 23d./1845

My beloved Huband—

It is just one week since we arrived at this place, but so many things have been crowded into that short space of time that it seems like a month. On fourth day was the celebration of the Queen's birthday—there was a review of the troops by the Governor, and in the evening a play by amateur performers at the Casino, a sort of public building, where most of the genteel Spaniards were assembled. Yesterday, there was a dinner party at Mrs. Sturgis'—Capt. & Mrs. Drinker, Dr. Pepper, Mr. Perrott, Messrs. Carey & De Silver, Mr. More &c.—& from this house Messrs. Edwards, Osborn, Cunningham (formerly of the *Rajah*, now staying here, I believe awaiting the arrival of some ship)—M. & self—It was a very pleasant occasion. . . . The dinner hour at Mr. Sturgis' was half past four, we sat down about five, & rose from table about half past seven, after which I came home as I had promised. I found Ecce awaiting me at the top of the stairs—I undressed & saw her in bed & then returned to Mrs. Sturgis', where the party was increased by the addition of several English and Spanish ladies & gents. We had music, vocal & instrumental, flute, piano, & guitar—and a Supper—did not get away until midnight. Today is the feast of Santa Cruz, the best worth seeing usually of any in the year, but now, owing to some disagreement between the Archbishop and the people of that parish, there was not as much parade as usual—It commenced last evening with an illumination of many streets & great preparations in the way of festivities. While I came home last evening, Mrs. Sturgis took M. & Mrs. Drinker in her carriage with Mr. Osborn & visited several houses where they were offered tea, chocolate, sweetmeats, etc., etc. Two grotesque figures, a sort of Punch & Judy, executed an amusing dance to the music of castanets in front of Mr. Sturgis' house last evening, wishing "long life & happiness to Mr. Sturgis & his lady too." The weather is very warm, unusually so for the season, and it is much to be regretted that we cannot go into the country, but a new Secretary has lately come out from Spain, with positive orders to grant no passports to foreigners to go into the country. (NOTE: This proved to be a mistake as shown in a later letter.)

. . . Mrs. Sturgis is very kind & polite, sending her carriage & inviting us to come there on all occasions without ceremony—but it is evident that our good friends here prefer

we should not accept them—It requires much care & tact to manage just right. Mr. Sturgis⁴ asked me the other evening if Joshua Kinsman⁵ was a brother of my husband—said he used to know him well when he was in the habit of coming to Manila, & remarked that he was a general favourite with all who knew him. . . . Capt. Graves of the *T. Perkins* & Capt. Davis of the *Mindora*, just arrived from the Sandwich Islands, dined here today, & we had on the table some potatoes, brought by Capt. D. which came from the Oregon territory—They were like the very nicest potatoes that we ever get at home—The two vessels telegraphed,⁶ are not yet in—it having been nearly calm all day.

Private

Manila Tuesday Dec 2d.

Dearest Husband—

A most unpleasant incident has occurred, which I ought not perhaps to trouble thee with, and yet I ought, for is not my dear husband the participant of all that concerns & interests me? Last evening, there was a small or social ball at the Casino, a sort of public hall—and Mr. Edwards invited us to accompany him—As the time to remain there was short, (the city gates being closed at eleven o'clock rendering it necessary to leave before that hour,) & Mary Anne being very anxious to go, I concluded for her gratification to go myself, tho' for my own part I would have preferred passing the two hours quietly at home—Last evening after tea, we came to our room, to dress, when immediately after, Capt. Drinker came in, & came directly there. He spoke of the ball, said they were going, & that he wished Mary Anne to dance the first cotillion with him, as she had engaged to do while on board ship—all which I considered as joking. He afterward went into the parlour, where the gentlemen were & told Mr. Edwards that he had engaged Miss Southwick to dance the first cotillion with him. Mr. Edwards said no—Miss Southwick was to dance the first cotillion with him—that it would be very strange if she did not, as his guest &c.

4 Mr. Sturgis was probably a member of the Russell Sturgis firm. They were in the China trade and had an office in Manila.

5 Joshua Kinsman, 1801-1841, a ship-master of Salem. Died at sea. Younger brother of Nathaniel Kinsman. His son Nathaniel Joshua was also lost at sea.

6 "Telegraphed"—This refers to a system of communication by means of a semaphore station. This system was used all over the world.

—& finally said unless Miss S. danced the first cotillion with him, the ladies would not go to the ball—To this, Capt. D. replied that he did not suppose Mr. Edwards would dance. Mr. E. said he had danced & would again & most certainly should on this occasion—All this, as those present say, was said very coolly. I ought to have mentioned before, that soon after our arrival, there was to have been a concert at the Casino, after which there was to have been dancing—this did not however take place but in expectation of it, Mr. E. engaged M. to dance with him, and he held the engagement binding for the present occasion. While we were dressing, Mr. Osborne sent a message by Eliza, requesting permission to speak to us, after we were ready. Accordingly he came in, & told us what had happened, & said he hoped M. would dance with Mr. Edwards—that it was a point of honour with him as she was his guest &c. &c. I had no idea that Capt. D. would think after all this, of M.'s dancing with him first, but soon after our arrival, he came up, took a seat by M—told her he considered her engaged to dance with him, that if she did not, he would never speak to her again &c. Then he came to me—told me he felt very much annoyed, and that if Mr. Edwards insisted upon dancing first with M—he would never enter his house again and so forth—I represented to him the impropriety & impossibility of her not doing so—that we were Mr. E.'s guests, & there by his invitation &c.—He said—“but you were my guests *first*, and Mary Anne engaged while on board ship, to dance with me”—I told him that was all joke, for in the first place, I had not the most remote idea that we should attend the ball—but he insisted upon his prior right. When Mr. E. came to lead her out, Mrs. D. who was sitting by her, said, “Mary Anne, do you know what you are about? do you know that you are affronting my husband?” . . . Now the gentlemen here say, it will be impossible if this state of things continues, for us to go back in the *Geneva*—and Mr. Osborn says rather than we should do so, he would go over with us himself—says he expects his brother every day with a brig which he will send direct to China &c &c. . . . It might perhaps have been better for M. not to have danced at all, but this would have offended Mr. Edwards, who is very sensitive, & jealous of his dignity & prerogative as “head of the house.” In many respects he is like our friend Mr. Wetmore—I do not know how the affair will end, but at the worst, there is the *Mermaid* in which thee will recollect Mr. de Mello offered us passage back,



MANILA BOATING SCENE

& she is said to be a good vessel and to have very good accommodations. . . . All this is for thy own private eye & ear alone, unless some reports coming from other parties should render it necessary for thee to explain matters.

Fifth day—dearest—

I will just say that at Mrs. Sturgis' last evening we met Capt. & Mrs. Drinker for the first time since the above related affair. He saluted us very pleasantly & seemed embarrassed & not at all at his ease. This morning, hearing that Ecce was much worse, he came here. He is no doubt much ashamed of what has happened. . . . I charge thee to say nothing about it, as it has now all passed over—

Ever thy own loving

Rebecca

Manila, Tuesday Dec. 3d., 1845

(To her husband)

Ecce for two days has not been quite as well—Dr. Pepper wished me to consult Dr. Reed as to the propriety of remaining here & going into the country—& Mr. Osborn wished also to ask a friend of his, a Spanish physician in whom they have much confidence. Each of these gentlemen has been here and we have had a consultation with them separately—and each advises strongly to remaining here for a while longer. Dr. Reed says it is his opinion that the only certain cure will be a return to a permanently cool climate—Now I am in a great state of doubt, Oh for my dear husband's advice & counsel. I was mistaken about the passport. It was for an excursion far into the country, where Mrs. King went about 30 or 40 miles, that passports were refused Mr. Osborn—none are necessary to go anywhere within 6 miles and he says he can easily procure a house in one of the neighbouring towns. . . . As no personal considerations whatever have any weight with me in this decision (NOTE: not to go back with Capt. & Mrs. Drinker), I feel as I have before expressed under great obligations to Capt. & Mrs. Drinker for their great kindness to us, in the passage over—and I hope thee will express this to them in China, & pay them every attention, if you can give the *Geneva* any freight home (which they say here she will want), please do so if possible & I would rather they should not know that I have written thee on the subject. I wish thee, should Capt. D. hesitate at all about it, to *insist* upon paying a fair equival-

ent for our passage over. . . . I am in a *perfect agony* of doubt and indecision. George Sturgis remarked, when M. said I had not decided, "not decided? Why, your rooms are engaged to other passengers." This has given me a *pang*, and I feel really homesick for the first time since I left Macao.

Monday morning, Dec. 8th

Dearest—

The decision is at last made to remain & Mr. Osborn has engaged a house for us out of town. I yielded my own judgment to that of others and gave Mr. Osborn my consent to remain last evening. . . . My mind is already in a measure weakened by my great anxiety on account of Ecça, & I have not my accustomed share of fortitude to sustain me. She is not now nearly as well as when we arrived. If Ecça does not improve before the *Mermaid* leaves, & I continue to feel as sadly as I now do, I shall take passage in her for Macao. . . . Do not be anxious about us, Mr. Cunningham says he wishes to go to China, and will accompany us in any vessel we may choose, so I think thee will see us in the course of a fortnight after the *Geneva* arrives. Tuesday morning—9th. I feel brighter this morning, dear husband. I have made up my mind to submit philosophically to the prolonged separation Everyone speaks in high terms of the house to which we are going & its situation. The village is said to be one of the most healthy in the neighbourhood of Manila, and we now only regret not having taken the house earlier— . . . Yesterday Mr. Osborne went out with some of the "boys," had the house opened & nicely cleaned, and this morning has sent the Steward out and a boat-cargo of furniture &c. Coolie has gone along with him, and we are all to go this afternoon. Thee will feel as I did, that this is giving him a great deal of trouble, but it was his own proposal, & he has urged it with all the persuasion he thought proper to make use of—and I am sure they would all rather have done anything in their power than to have had us leave in the *Geneva*. Ecça is much better now than when we left Macao. . . . The pleasure of our visit here, has, it is true been very much marred by the occurrences related in my private note, and the consequences attendant upon it. It has placed me in a very awkward position between the two parties. . . . I remain of the same opinion, that I *cannot* remain more than a fortnight longer.

Wednesday—10th Dec.

Here we are dearest, quite settled in our new abode—We came out yesterday after dinner; and the house is about two miles from town in the Village of Sampaloc, and it is very cool and airy; surrounded by terraces and verandahs—a pretty little garden on one side—and a bathing house opening into the river, in which M. and I have had a fine bath this morning. It has a spacious court yard & stables attached, & belongs to a Mustiça woman very rich, who has recently married a Spaniard much younger than herself and gone to live with him I suppose, otherwise I think they would not have left this delightful spot—Mr. & Mrs. Sturgis & Capt. Drinker came out last evening and they were all much pleased—Mr. S. remarked if Ecça did not recover her health here, he did not know where she could do so.

Saturday 13th.

My dear Husband—Oh for a few words from thee this morning—how they would cheer my heart. I cannot ascertain about the time of the *Mermaid's* sailing—Capt. D. was out here evening before last, and said he thought she would not get away under three weeks, but others say she will be off in a week—I hope she may be detained, and if so, and no American ship appears before then, I shall certainly take passage in her—but in a week, I think I can hardly go, as it would not be giving this experiment a fair trial—Thee sees my mind dwells on getting back. I have no unkindly feeling whatever toward Capt. D. or his wife. She came out here with Mr. Griswold evening before last & took tea. . . . Yesterday, after dinner, Mrs. Santa Coloma came out with her children & made a long call, preventing us from taking our drive. While she was here, Mr. Cook came out, & Mr. Carey & DeSilva & George Sturgis. Capt. Graves was dining here—They stopped but a few moments. Afterward Dr. Reed came out to tea, & Mr. Sturgis came to say goodbye, & Mr. Cunningham to take me to see Mrs. D. The air here is lovely—at least ten degrees cooler than in Manila—and the temperature through the day more equal—The Baby is well & happy. I long to show him to thee—Oh when will that happy time arrive? Dr. Pepper has offered to take any *private* letters we may wish to send—and if he comes out to dine today, as we expect, I shall give him this. There have been as many as six arrivals from China since we have

been here, but I believe not one of them brought any letters to the house from you—Mr. Edwards mentioned that he had letters from Mrs. Ritchie, & I have several times heard it remarked that Mr. Ritchie was a very punctual correspondent—Some one said the other day that when Mr. Lejée was in Macao, no vessel ever left for Manila without at least a few lines from him, but that now the correspondence was not kept up punctually, or something like this—Don't repeat anything of this, but write by every opportunity. . . .

No. 4 from Manila.

Manila—12th mo. 17th/45

Fourth day—

My last letter to thee, my dear Sister, was sent by the *Farwell* which sailed from here on the 12th inst. . . . Nathan Cook goes home passenger in her (The *Thomas Perkins*) after a residence here of two years—it must seem to him like going away *from* home—He promises to come & see you all, and he will tell you all about us. . . . W. H. Osborn is staying with us out at SamPaloc, as it is not considered quite safe for us to be here without a gentleman—Yesterday, for the first time since we came out here, we went into Manila to dine with Mr. Edwards and the other gentlemen. After dinner, we took a delightful drive, and returned home to tea, several of our friends stopping to partake it with us—Just as we arrived, a procession was passing—it was a very long one—men & women with lighted candles in their hands, chanting as they walked, a hymn to the Virgin, whose figure large as life was born along (on a platform) magnificently attired, and adorned with jewels—the priest following, a splendid canopy over his head supported by four men—bands of music accompanying. . . . After breakfast, we went out to the Balsa or floating bamboo bridge, which is a pleasant ride of about 2 or 3 miles from here—As we drove along, we saw groups of men & women busily at work, gathering in the crops of rice paddy—It was a novel sight, the women with their little crooked sickles, working as skilfully as the men. I took Ecce & baby with me in the carriage. Baby fell asleep before we reached home, showing thereby his utter want of appreciation of the charms of the scenery through which we drove. I have mustered up Spanish words enough to tell the Coachman when I wish him to go slower—faster, to go on, to stop, and to turn round—& to go to the right or



MANILA GIRLS SHOPPING

left—but the other evening I forgot the word for faster, and do my best, I could not recall it—I tried various words, but they would none of them produce the right effect, and I was obliged to let him “go his ain gate”— . . . We shall sadly miss these lovely rides, when we get back to Macao—When Dr. Pepper was here, he took a nice new carriage with a pair of pretty black ponies, of unequalled trotting capacities, on hire at about \$75 the month—Since he left, W.H.O. has taken them for me, so that we can go out at any time we wish, without being dependent on one of the gentlemen to accompany us—The Coachman wears a sort of livery—a brownish short coat trimmed & turned out with blue—a glazed hat with a gold band, & a black cockade on one side—long boots reaching above the knees, to protect his legs as he rides one of the horses, & altogether his appearance is quite funny. There is a beautiful English lady here now, a Mrs. Hennery, the wife of Capt. H. of the ship *Constant*—She is very lovely, & sings & plays with exquisite skill & taste. We have met her several times, and I have some idea of calling on her & inviting her to pass a day with us—Her husband is a magnificent looking man, would be a splendid original for the picture of a Corsair. They are talking of a *Bull fight* to come off soon, the first one ever attempted here, and the Spanish ladies are looking forward to it with excessive interest. The ladies for the most part have very coarse harsh voices, but many of them are good looking & even handsome. Twice a week, there is fine music from three bands, in the evenings, in front of the Governor’s palace—People drive there in their carriages & sit & listen for an hour or rather three quarters of an hour, I believe is the time, from 8 to a quarter before nine & then ride to the Barracks, where they play again—The “Plaza” or open Square in front of the palace, is a pretty spot. The Palace on one side, an immensely long, tho’ not handsome building, the Cathedral, grand & venerable on another, another large building, serving the double purpose of prisons & council chambers on the third, and another large church on the fourth side of the square—On the side next the Cathedral stands a sort of Monument surmounted by a cross. Ecce has just come to me and asked me to listen while she reads a piece of poetry that she has cut from a newspaper, called “The Twilight Hour.” She reads very well. . . . Eliza has just brought in a bunch of brilliant flowers, which she has been gathering for Ecce, among which the pomegranate blossom & (?) are the only

acquaintances I recognize—There is a very beautiful yellow flower among them, which I have never seen elsewhere—There are some fruits growing here which we have not in China—the only one just now in season is the Chico, which resembles in its appearance a small russeting apple—but is soft & juicy inside like a peach & contains 2 or 4 black seeds, like those of the watermelon—They have Oranges, (but not nearly as good as in China,) Plantains, Pineapples, cocoanuts & the other common tropical fruits. Sixth day 19th—I have just come up, dearest Sis, from a delightful river bath. There is a fine large bathing house belonging to our house. Everyday, M. & I, in our long bathing gowns, enjoy this luxury. The river from the windows of this bath house is beautiful in the extreme—First the river just here very narrow—bordered with rushes, beyond lovely green meadows, refreshing to the sight, and in the further distance, several villages with the church spires towering above the surrounding trees, and the picturesque houses with their over-hanging roofs—I stood for a long time this morning, gazing upon this view of surpassing loveliness, and thinking how often after my return to Macao, I should recall it with delight—But to compensate for these lovely quiet views of meadows & harvest fields, I shall have then, the glorious Ocean, which I miss here as the face of an old, familiar friend, and the music of its waves, like the voice of one I love—I wish every day, and oftener too, that thee could be here with us—The temperature is perfection itself—White muslin dresses quite sufficient in the house, tho' when we go out morning & evening a shawl is necessary. . . . M. went in to see Mrs. Sturgis, who lives in the parish of Santa Cruz, half way between this & San Gabriel where Peele, Hubbell, & Co. live. After dinner Mrs. de Santa Coloma came again in her carriage, and I went out riding with her. This lady is said to be decidedly the most accomplished Spanish woman here. She speaks English, French, & Spanish fluently—besides the Tagala or Native dialect of the Islanders—plays on the piano & guitar, sings well, &c. &c. She seems to have taken quite a fancy to coming here—and her little Amelia is here again today, passing the day with Ecce. . . . My servants continue to do well,—When I first thought of remaining, I asked them if they would stay with me, or go back to China in the *Geneva* and they both said they would prefer remaining until I went—Had they decided otherwise, I should not have staid, as I could not have got along with baby with a strange nurse—

Afterward they both got homesick, and Ammah fancied herself sick, & laid on her mat whole days, leaving the care of baby entirely to me & the Coolie. I therefore engaged an excellent looking Indian Nurse, recommended to me by my new friend Mrs. de Sta. Coloma—This roused Ammah, & her objections to the woman's coming were so great, that she told me, she thought "She could now take care of baby"—and begged me not to have the "Manila Woman"—So I consented, and she has since done perfectly well—and the Coolie is a treasure. . . . Mrs. de Sta. Coloma came again this afternoon and brought her children and I again went out with her—this is getting to be rather a *bore*. . . . An Indian or Manila Man of about 6 feet high has just come up the stairs—to whom W.H.O. addressed the usual inquiry—"Qui Causa?" He has brought a cow which he is to keep here, & come morning & evening to milk & feed her. I hear that the *Mermaid*, an English ship, is to leave here for China about the first of next month, and should no American ship arrive here meantime, I have pretty much decided to take passage in her—as she has good accommodations & a very agreeable Captain. . . . While we were at breakfast this morning, an old portero, or porter, came up stairs with two beautiful & fragrant roses in his hand, which he handed to M. & myself—then observing *Ecce*, he went down & gathered a third, which he brought to her—He is an old man with perfectly white hair & a fine face, & tall erect figure (an Indian). I was much gratified with this little mark of attention. I have been into the kitchen a moment since. It is unlike our Macao kitchens, on the same floor with the rest of the house, the cooking arrangement is a place built of stone & mortar of a convenient height to stand at, something like the counter of a shop, in the top of which are various openings or holes in which to put fire & over these they place the pots & pans for boiling—Underneath an oven is arched out, and here they bake—I think, if I were a cook, I should fancy this much better than leaning over a smoky wood fire—the smoke in this kitchen finds its way out as best it can at doors & windows, there being no chimney, consequently the walls are perfectly black. The Steward manages however to get up a variety of nice dishes here. . . . We have received and accepted an invitation to dine in town with Mr. Edwards on Christmas day—How lonely dear Nathaniel will feel to be in China without his family on that day. I beg my beloved Father & Mother to accept my warmest love, Stephen & Annie, Wm.

& Lydia, Edward & Frank & Mary, come next—tell dear Annie I am depending on some of her interesting letters, when I get back to China & hope I shall not be disappointed. Love to Uncles, Aunt Collins, & all my dear Cousins—Much love to Aunt Robinson, who I hope is in Salem this winter, and as well as the last—kind remembrance to Sylvester—I am very sorry to hear that Thomas has left you, but hope his successor proved docile & well-behaved—As to Betsy, I trust she has improved, or else that you have also made an exchange in her department—My love to my good friend S. Page, I intended to have written her, by this vessel, but like many other good resolutions, it has not been put into execution—Please give my love to Mary Anderson & the other ladies of the Dorcas Society—also to Sarah Neal & Maria Ropes—Does Mr. Peele get engaged yet? I long for Salem news. Once more dearest & best beloved Sister, I must say farewell with my earnest prayers for thy preservation & trust that we may all be blessed spiritually & temporally, with those things that are desirable for us,—I remain as ever,

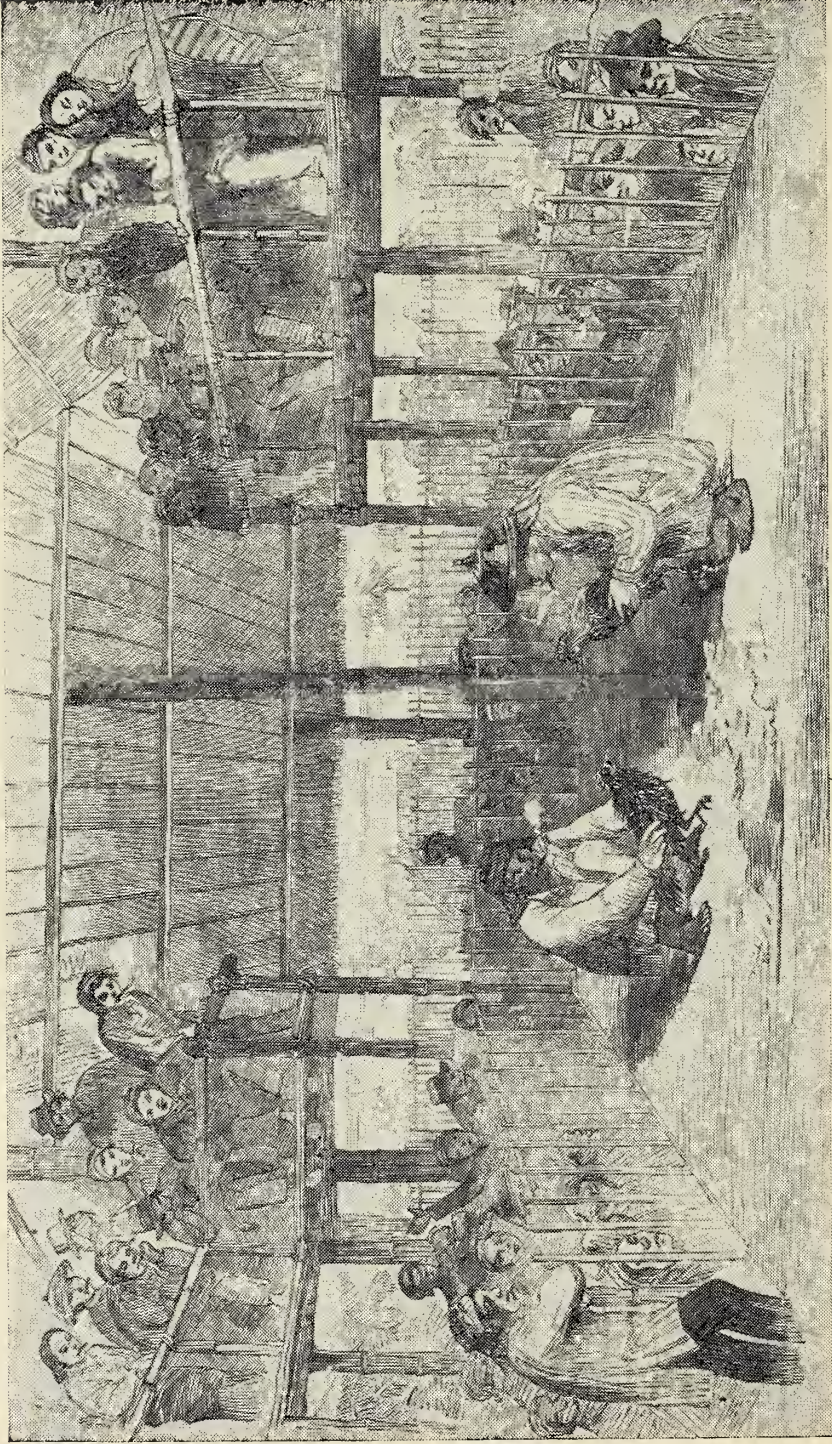
Thy own loving & affectionate Sister
Rebecca

Much love to Mother Kinsman, Sister Mary & family, also to my friends B. B. Palfray, L. Hawkes & Sarah Browne when thee sees them—to the Sisters Pope also, if in Salem, please remember me very kindly, and to my Lynn friends—particularly S. & Eliza Boyce & Cousin Estes Newhall—Kind remembrances to S. Marston, S. Grace (?), W. Cross & M. Davis.

Sampaloc—Sunday Dec. 21st./45

My dearly beloved Husband.

Mr. Carey took breakfast with us this morning and informed us that he expects to leave this place for China tomorrow in the Spanish barque *Preciosa*—I will therefore hasten to commence a letter to thee. I trust a way will open for us to come to Canton for a few weeks, for after this long separation, it will seem too much not to be together. This is Mr. Osborn's 25th birthday, and the gentlemen from town are coming out here to dine with us, and I believe Mr. Carey also. The family is much diminished—only Messrs. Edwards, Towne, Cunningham & Zacate (The Spanish Clerk) remaining—Mr. Cunningham is to remain here a year in the counting room of Peele, Hubbell & Co. The Spanish



COCK-FIGHTING IN MANILA

government is very exacting & annoying in its measures towards foreigners—In order to obtain permission to remain here after the *Geneva's* departure, I was obliged to sign a petition to the Governor to the effect that I “Donna Rebecca Kinsman—a native of the United States, and a passenger from China hither in the American ship *Geneva*, with my niece, (giving her name,) and my two young children & two Chinese servants requested permission to remain for the space of one or two months for the benefit of the health of one of my children, &c &c.” The next day, a message was sent, inquiring my age & that of my niece. When a foreigner dies, the permission to bury him in the paddy field allotted for the purpose is given somewhat in this manner—“That the individual referred to may be interred in the spot of ground allotted to the burial of Pagan Chinese and Heretical Foreigners.” Capt. Graves lost two of his best men last week by cholera—they were seized very suddenly & died after a few hours illness—poor fellows—every thing was done for them that was possible—Dr. Reed went off at eleven o'clock at night, & remained on board all night—not leaving the men at all—Next morning he went on board the *Samarang* (?) English Man of War, and consulted with her surgeon, who fully approved of all that had been done,—but alas, all in vain. There are moments, my dear husband, when it seems to me impossible to wait any longer—that I must see thee and be pressed to thy warm & loving heart. Oh what happiness to feel that there is *one person* in the wide world, who we *know* will rejoice to meet and welcome us. I never more fully realized how dear & how entirely necessary to my happiness, is the society of my precious husband. . . . Oh how earnestly I desire that our dear little daughter may be quite restored by the time I return to China—for otherwise I fear we must send her home. . . . Mr. Osborn has engaged the refusal of a passage in the *Mermaid*. She is to sail from the 1st to the 5th, so they now say, of January. I cannot remain here longer than that *possibly*. I am very anxious to obtain some woolen socks or stockings for Rebecca. She will require them on her return and nothing of the kind is to be had here. Will thee inquire in Canton, & if they cannot be found, write to Hong Kong for some. . . . If it were possible for John to go to Macao, and have the house put in winter order, I should be glad, but I do not see how this can be done, as Natty could not go too, and it would not answer for John to leave him—So I must leave all the winter arrange-

ments until I get back. . . . Abbott is well & happy, but daily developes more & more "the old Adam" in him—Mr. O. says it is the *Quaker* coming out of him. Mr. Carey did not return to tea—I don't know whether he intends coming out to say goodbye. He has purchased a quantity of very fine wood here, which he shipped to China in the *Geneva*, and on which Mr. D. thinks he will make something very handsome. It is in very long & broad pieces, suitable for doors, tables &c.—and will be very desirable to those gentlemen building houses at Canton & Hong Kong—It was collected with much trouble and expense & time from different provinces in the island by a gentleman who was intending to manufacture cabinet furniture—but gave up his project and sold the whole to Mr. Carey at cost. Mr. O. says there are many varieties of splendid woods in the Provinces—boards of immense length & width—one piece sufficing for the top of a dining table—long enough for 20 people to sit at. Ecce is by no means well—Dr. Quintama advised to the use of cream of tartar, given in very small quantities once or twice a week—I have given it her once & the effect was beneficial—Mr. Edwards says he thinks that remedy was of more benefit to him than anything else. He was ill with dysentery for a whole year before he began to recover, and then six months longer before he finally recovered. After he left off all medicines and took only the cream of tartar, he began to get better. It is a simple remedy certainly. Beside this, she takes no medicine except the *lavements* which are of great service to her. . . . There is some comfort in the thought that this is probably the last letter I shall send thee—& that the next messenger will be my own self. Oh—how much—how very much I long to see thee—Kiss dear little Natty for me again & again—Tell him, if he loves his mother to be a good boy—and try not to be troublesome to his Father. My kind remembrance to John. . . . With longings more earnest than I can express to see thee, and my dear little boy, I remain with love unchanging & undiminished—they own loving & affectionate Wife—Rebecca—

Sampaloc—Monday Evig. Dec. 22/45

My dear Husband—

Thee will—I think, have no reason to complain of not hearing from me often enough. I find I was mistaken—the ship seen yesterday coming in was a French Whaler and the *Amherst* is the ship which spoke the *Geneva* and arrived here

two days since—45 days from Singapore—put in here for a supply of water. Where Capt. Osborn can be, seems very strange—I think his brother begins to be a little anxious about him. He is to come here from the Fejee Islands with a cargo of beech le mere⁷—(I don't know how to spell it) and should have been here the first of November. Some Chinese here are waiting ready to take the article, & they wish to send it to China, so that it is Mr. O's intention to send the brig immediately over, on her arrival—I wish she would come. And now, beloved one, my eyes ache and I must say goodnight.

Sampaloc, Saturday, Jan. 3d.

My dearly beloved Husband—

Last evening, instead of leaving as I expected in the *Mermaid*, I sent thee a hasty letter written under a good deal of excitement, just after we came on shore. Today I wish to write thee a little more explicitly. I decided two weeks ago, to go to China in the *Mermaid*, but indulged a lingering hope that before her sailing, some American ship would make her appearance, in which we might take passage instead. Mr. Osborn used every argument to induce us to remain, as he considered it decidedly for Rebecca's advantage to do so, but yet in compliance with my wishes, he went off on board the ship, looked at her accommodations, saw her Captain, etc., and everything was favourable, except the fact of her having a Lascar⁸ crew. When we went off to the ship, and saw the horrid, hideous Lascar crew, such a dreadful horror seized me, that I felt as if my fate was sealed. All thy dismal forebodings came before me, and it seemed to me that if I went, we should certainly perish. Mary Anne burst into tears, Ecce intreated me not to go, that she would rather remain in Manila all her life than to go in that dreadful ship. The effect of this on my excited nervous system may be imagined—Finding from the Government officer on board, that we could return, we did so—and thee may suppose that I passed a sleepless night. On calm reflection, I would have given worlds, had they been at my disposal, to have gone back to the ship, but it was too late. Today I am perfectly calm,

⁷ Bêche de mer—An East-Indian sea-slug—a Chinese delicacy.

⁸ Lascar—name for Oriental and especially Indian sailors. From the Persian and applied by the Portuguese to an inferior class of military men and then to sailors.

and hope all is for the best—I trust thee will not blame me too severely,—but let the love thee bears me, palliate my weakness. What will people think of me?—Now, I have promised Mr. Osborn to wait patiently and quietly until some good American ship offers—or at least a reasonable time. . . . By the *Lill*, letters were received from the House, one of which bore thy signature, so I knew thee was alive and that was some comfort—Why are you so remiss in writing?

Sam Paloc 12th Mo. 22d./45

Second day—Evening

I, this forenoon, wrote two pages in a letter to thee, my dear Sister, which I sent to China, requesting my husband to fill the remaining page, and forward the letter to thee from thence. Went to ride this morning after breakfast—the sun being obscured. The drive to the Balsa, or floating bamboo bridge, is in our immediate vicinity and is one of the most pleasant in the neighborhood of Manila. The banks of the river are bordered by beautiful bamboo trees, cows & buffalos graze on its banks, & the other evening, we saw some beautiful white Swans gracefully floating along its surface. The bridge is made of bamboos fastened together, and is large enough to contain two carriages and horses at a time—The horses are driven on, then the bridge is loosed from its moorings, and pulled over by men stationed on the opposite bank by means of long pieces of bamboo. We crossed it one evening with Mr. Edwards, who was going to Marachino, a town about 6 miles distant. Dr. Reed has been out to see us today. . . . He is a very agreeable man & has travelled a great deal—He came out 2 or 3 years ago, with the intention of establishing himself, but as so many obstacles were thrown in his way by the Spaniards, he left & went to Madrid—where after infinite difficulty, he succeeded in obtaining a “royal order,” giving him permission to reside here and practise his profession—He brought us out the other day a large number of magazines & periodicals. Some numbers of the “Columbian Magazine” published in Philadelphia which I had never before seen or heard of. These contained a series of sketches of Macao—by Mrs. Caroline Butler, written while there—on a visit of a few months. They are very pleasingly written and quite true to the reality. We rode out over a lovely road by the Hospital of San Lazaro—or the

hospital for *lepers*—a large stone building—surrounded by open fields with a pretty little enclosed burying ground opposite—its entrance gate surmounted by a cross. Then we passed in sight of the Protestant & Chinese burying ground; it is a pretty knoll, but can only be reached by going through a paddy field which in the rainy season is completely inundated. This in the language of the Government edicts, is called “the place appointed for the burial of heretical protestants and pagan Chinese,” and the Chinese have the best & highest part of the ground. There are great numbers of Chinese here—many thousands. It is always safe to write by way of Singapore, as the Steamer stops there once a month on her way from India, and there is beside, frequent communication by ships, and now Joseph Webb is established there, and he will be most happy to forward any letters for me.

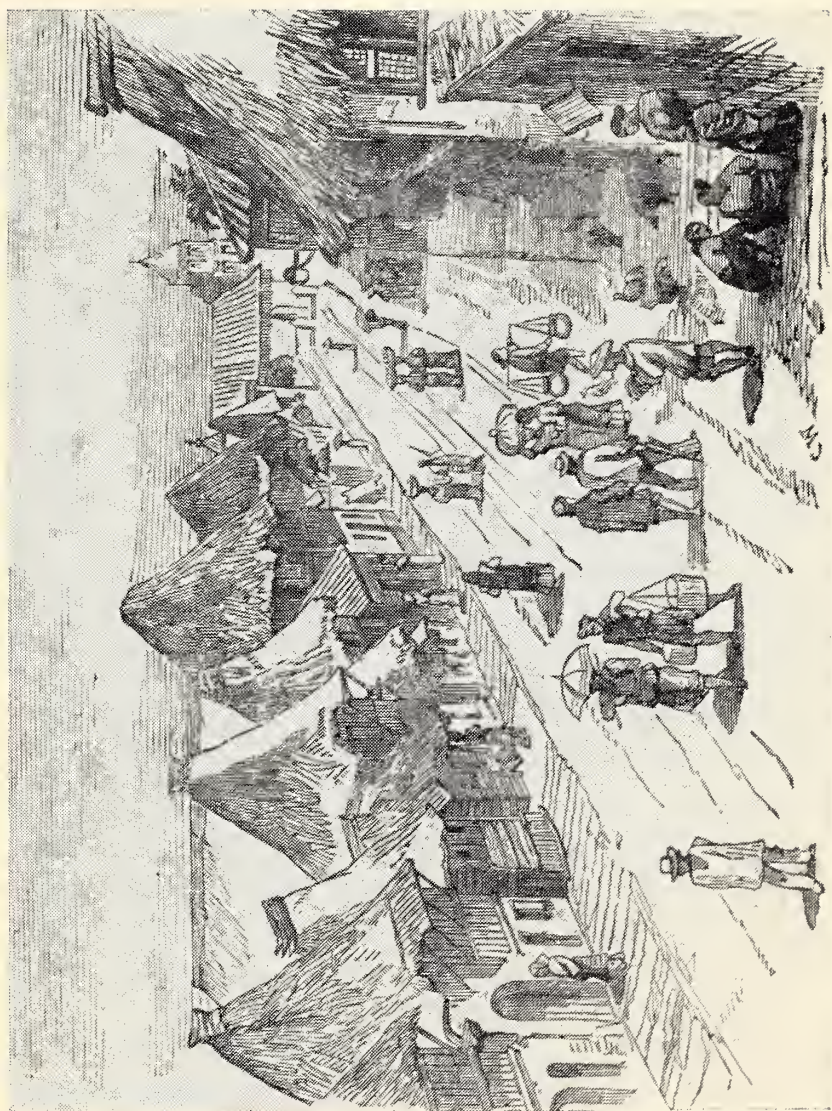
Fifth day, 25th. Christmas day—a bright & pleasant morning. . . . The churches were all open last night at midnight & brilliantly lighted & high mass performed to usher in the auspicious day—But I felt no inclination to encounter the dense crowds of Indians which throng them on these occasions—The bells too rung merrily at midnight, but I heard them not. Mr. Osborn proposes to take us to see a house which he thinks of buying in the village of Parco, about the same distance from Manila that we are, but in a different direction—The man who owns it drew it in a *raffle*—just fancy! and now offers it for \$500. It is said to have a pretty garden belonging to it with Chinese jars, etc., and the house contains some furniture beside. A young man by the name of James Perrot from Philadelphia, a passenger out by the *Geneva*, was in Manila when we arrived. He called occasionally to see us while here—and one morning he gave a very amusing account of his disownment from friends’ Society—He said Wm. Evans & two other friends were the committee to visit him, & he invited them to take wine & cigars, which they *were nothing loath to do*—but after a while, they would take no more cigars & no more wine, and then they came to the subject of their visit—He described it in the most ludicrous manner.

Sixth day, 26th. How swiftly the days pass—I can hardly believe my dates are correct—Yesterday, agreeably to our intention we went in town to dine—Enjoyed a very nice dinner—the orthodox dishes of roast turkey & plum pudding occupying their appropriate places. Missed N. Cook very

much, not having been there before since he left. Opposite the terrace which looks upon the river was moored a brig from the Provinces, on board which were music & dancing all day—As we rode into town, we met crowds of people, all dressed in their holiday attire, but heard no noise & saw no intoxication—From Christmas day onward through the week, the feast days continue. The Indians are very fond of Cock fighting, and it is licensed by government, so that every other man you meet has a cock in his arms. Every few steps, a booth presented a tempting array of sweetmeats, & dishes of various kinds ornamented with flowers & cut paper of brilliant colours, among which I noticed very often imitations of Stars—and was told they were intended to represent the *Star of Bethlehem*—After dinner, we enjoyed a delightful drive, through the villages or parishes of Benondo, Tondo, San Lazaro, and some others whose names I cannot recollect. The merry tones of gay music resounded from many a house as we rode along, giving indication of balls & festivities in the evening. We took Eccla, and she seemed to enjoy herself very much—but was rather disappointed in getting no Christmas gift. There seems nothing here to be had for Children. After Eccla was in bed, and we had taken tea, we went again into Manila, to hear the music on the Plaza which was unusually fine—This morning we rose very early, & leaving both children quietly asleep, went out. Mr. Cunningham came out & joined us—Our road was an unfrequented one, and as rough & rugged as some of those out-of-the-way places in the vicinity of Marblehead which thee *used to get lost in*—but our coachman drove with care & skill so we met with no difficulty. After riding awhile, we left the carriages & walked nearly a mile to the river which we crossed in a little canoe, so small that only two of us could go over at a time—on reaching the opposite bank, we ascended a hill, from which we had a magnificent prospect of the surrounding country. There stood an old stone fort, now converted into a dwelling—The walls I should think were 5 or 6 feet thick, closely grated windows & doors, & otherwise very strongly built—Here some Frenchmen took refuge some 20 or 30 years ago—when an attempt was made by the Indians to massacre the foreigners—about 12 fell victims in the neighbourhood of Manila—There was a great deal of sickness prevailing at the time, and the Indians fancied it was caused by the foreigners having poisoned the water. We saw an old woman & younger one nursing a dirty baby, and innumerable young

children about—one little girl was preparing breakfast—some bits of meat were frying in a pan, and an earthen pot stood by in which rice was boiling. The *fire place* was a rude furnace of clay, standing on a *basket*. These natives have no chairs in their houses, always sit upon the floor and eat with their fingers so that their house-hold furniture consists only of mats to sleep upon, & a few earthen pots for cooking—In a yard behind the house were numbers of buffaloes old and young—It was a *milk farm*—I saw no altar or picture here, but there was an inner sanctorum into which we did not penetrate, and there may have been something of the sort there, for I have never before seen even the most miserable house which had not something in the shape of an altar. Those who can afford it have images of the Virgin & Saints magnificently adorned, and as they descend in the scale of wealth, one image, or still poorer a picture or a Saviour on the cross, & those who can do no better, have a humble engraving to worship. They are all devout Catholics, and every woman wears an amulet about her neck which has been blessed by the Priest—Last evening, the vesper bell sounded while we were out—every carriage stopped, every man removed his hat, & men, women & children crossed themselves. There is something touching & solemn in these observances—I have often seen women in meeting a Padre in the street, stop one after another and kiss his hand, which he very benignantly held out to them. The Priests are innumerable here of all orders—To return—after leaving the old fortress, we stood for a while to admire the charming prospect, then descended the hill, recrossed the river, and came home, in time for a late breakfast—found Ecce up & dressed. . . . The dew was on the grass this morning, so that we got our clothes sadly bedraggled, and the bottom of the boat was also wet—thee would have laughed to have seen our plight when we reached home—but we soon appeared at breakfast in thoroughly clean suits, and the washwoman was sent for to remove the *mud & mire* forthwith—This is one of the luxuries I shall sadly miss when we leave China for home—I mean the liberty of having as much washing done as I wish—It is an exceedingly great comfort to have them all taken away out of one's sight, no details of washing & ironing going on—with cross looks of servants, etc. . . . Yesterday Dr. Reed dined with us, and accompanied me in a drive after dinner. He talked very agreeably—having seen much of the world, he has a great store of information which

he has gathered in his travels. He told me of a Malay boy, whom they picked up at sea, in one of his voyages—He, with others, had been taken by pirates, and he had made his escape in a canoe—The Doctor took him under his particular charge, taught him to speak English, &c—After he had been on board some time, as he was walking the deck one evening he heard a low plaintive sound, which he found proceeded from this boy who was half singing, half chanting a plaintive ditty in his native tongue—On being asked what he was doing, he replied that he was thinking of home—The doctor then asked him about dying—and where when he died, he expected to go—he said “good man go to the moon,” (looking at the moon, then at the full—) “bad man go to the sun”—and then proceeded to say, that in the moon it was very pleasant, that all night they were sailing over the earth, and in the morning when it disappeared, a large *fish* was ready, who took it on his back and sailed with it under the sea, coming up again next evening—but that in the *sun* bad men were obliged to work very hard, dragging it along by ropes, no fish being provided to help it along—was it not a strange idea? Yesterday we had a pleasant excursion to the towns of Marachina & Passig—left home at six o’clock in the morning—crossed the “Balsa”, and rode through some beautiful scenery for 6 miles over a rather rough road to Marachina—While riding through one place where the road was very narrow, and the foliage very close & dense on each side, a hideous figure of a man started out on one side & solicited alms—His white hair stood on end all over his head—& his beard, white & of a month’s growth, forming a strange contrast to his olive complexion—His eyes were staring & his whole appearance frightful, and we were glad to quicken our pace & get out of his way—A little farther on, we saw a cage, on a high pole, in which was exposed the *head* of a *malefactor*. It is the custom here, when a criminal is executed, to cut off his head & *quarter* his body, & expose the different parts in different roads—for the warning of beholders, and the effect is said to be salutary upon these Indians, but it is certainly a horrible custom. At Marachina, we left the carriage & took boat to Passig; the banks of the river bordered with the graceful bamboo & luxurious mango tree—and every here & there a village with its antique & picturesque church—The town of Passig is large & populous—At a little distance from here, we went on shore, and ascending a hill seated ourselves beneath the shade of some



CALZADA DE SAN SEBASTIAN, A SUBURB OF MANILA

trees close by the ruins of a chapel—overgrown with Ivy—the most *beautiful ruin* I ever saw—This pretty chapel was located between two villages, the padre of each of which claimed it as his own—So after much & long dispute, they settled the matter by tearing it down—This was many years since—What a commentary on the character of *gospel ministers*! Here our basket of refreshments was produced—put up by the care of the good Steward—and we enjoyed a nice cup of tea, cold fowl, sandwiches, &c. very much. A crowd of Indians collected around us, to whom it was undoubtedly an era in their existence—The remainder of the eatables was given to them much to their delight—(I should have mentioned that we had a cup of nice chocolate before leaving home). Entering the Banca again, we came down river, and reached home about 11 o'clock. . . . One of the strongest objections I should have to living in Manila, would be the want of religious services on the Sabbath—The effect, I am sure, is to render people careless of its observance in any way. . . .

Third day 30th—My dearest Sister—This morning I signed a petition to the Governor for a passport for myself, niece & children to China—This decides the case as to our going. An arrival yesterday from China, the French Ship *Orient* brings me no letter; she reports that the mail had not arrived at H. Kong on the 22d. It usually arrives on the 14th or 16th. Some accident, it is thought, must have happened to the Steamer—as the China Sea has been unusually stormy the past month or two. No arrivals from home except the *Oneida*—In the evening we went by invitation to Mrs. Sta. Coloma's as she had a small musical party. We had previously intended going there to bid her goodbye—There was a young lady there who sung very well & the hostess herself also sung, & several gentlemen. Two or three doctors, two or three Alcaldis,^{8a} &c. &c. were also there. She is said to assemble at her reunions the best society in Manila, & yet shall I say it? Shade of Mrs. Trollope—listen—*She spits upon the floor.* Fourth day, 31st. Dearest, Tomorrow ushers in a new year. And consequently this is the last day of the old one 1845—Two more and I trust we shall be on our way home—I am homesick today. Yesterday after dinner we rode out to see Mr. Mugford, who lives only about a mile & a half or two miles from here—saw his rope-walk,

8a. Alcalde: A magistrate in a Spanish or Spanish-American pueblo or town; later, a chief magistrate or mayor.

with the steam-engine which moves the machinery, &c. &c. In the evening, he came in on horseback to see us & bid us goodbye. He is expecting his wife out very soon in the *Areatus* or at least she thinks she may come. Thee may tell his sister that he lives in a very charming place.

Second Day—1st. Mo. 5th 1846.

My dear, darling Sister.

I closed a packet to thee on the 2d inst., informing thee that we were to leave that evening for China in the *Mermaid*—Owing to various circumstances, I was induced to alter my resolution, and she has gone without us. I cannot now explain the circumstances. I hope to be in China in time to write by the Overland Mail, to reach thee long before this does. Third day 6th. Last night, we had a slight shock of an earthquake—they are not uncommon here. The day had been damp & uncomfortably warm, denoting something of the kind—There is an open volcano, at about 50 miles from Manila. Where we are living, we are surrounded by natives, and there is considerable amusement in watching them—the children go mostly quite *naked*—some of them wear a short shirt reaching to the hips, but more wear nothing at all—so that it is sometimes rather trying to one's modesty—This morning I rose early and opened my window, and the first thing I saw was a party of men, women & children going to Mass—The women with black veils over their heads, sandals on their feet, and *cigars in their mouths*. The cigars smoked by the women here are so very large that they are obliged to open their mouths very wide to contain them—As large as a man's thumb or larger—One who has never left home, can hardly imagine the strange sights constantly seen in these countries—Feast-days abound at this season—There are so many villages about Manila, each one of which has its own peculiar feast-days that they are constantly recurring—On these occasions awnings are spread over the streets through which the processions are to pass, many lamps brilliantly lighted—houses opened with entertainments spread out—&c.&c. Wm. H. Osborn is very busy now, dispatching the *Mindoro*—When she has gone, he will be more at leisure, and will be more with us—His kindness is that of a brother.

Tuesday 13th Jan. My dear darling husband. . . . The expenses of this trip will be very heavy on thee, my precious

One, and this idea worries me not a little, but thee must set it down as a loss in business. The idea of so agreeable an addition to our Society, as Mr. & Mrs. Forbes is very pleasant. I hope they will not arrive before we do. . . . There seems now to be a certainty of our being able to leave here on a good comfortable ship within a fortnight—and that is a comfort. The Spanish vessel which I mentioned as leaving next week, has a cargo of rice,⁹ which is a strong objection to going on her, while the French Ship takes none, and has beside much better accommodations, and French Ships it is said, are usually extremely well managed. Ecce has not been as well for a few days past as before, but today is decidedly better. . . . Tomorrow a Spanish vessel leaves for Singapore, & it is thought will arrive there in time to meet the Overland Mail. I shall try to write to Sister M. by her. The name I believe is the *Isabella Pomada* and she is said to be the best Spanish Ship out of Manila—If she were going to China instead of Singapore, I would go in her—Mary Anne sent a packet to Wm. Story by Dr. Pepper containing a smoking cap—with a note; she made it for him in payment of a bet. . . .

Thy devoted & affectionate

Rebecca

Manila 1st. Mo. 12th 1846

My dearest Sister—

How little I thought to have written thee again from this place but here we are still, and I do not know when we shall get away. . . . All the ships appear to be making very long passages—The *Medora* had put into Batavia in distress, and the *Loochoo* and others were daily expected. Mrs. Bush & Sister we learn are coming out in the *Rainbow* and Mrs. & Miss Forbes in the *Paul Jones*. These latter ladies we learn are to reside in Macao, and as thee may suppose, the prospect of so agreeable an addition to our Society is very pleasant to us. Mrs. Bush will live at Hong Kong—Mrs. Delano & little Susie had had the measles but were doing well. Mrs. Ritchie has another little Son—My husband tells me that Natty is very good, obedient & affectionate. This makes me very happy. . . .

9 Cargoes of rice and any kind of grain, if they became wet, would swell and might burst the seams of the boat. They were shipped in bulk.

Mr. Osborne went out very early this morning—he went to the burial ground to see to the placing a tomb-stone at the grave of Mr. Kimball, a young man from Salem, who died here last spring or summer. . . . W.H.O. received by this mail via China a letter from Willard Phillips in England—but the Manila portion of the two previous mails, as well as of this one, have not yet come to hand. We have now a great advantage in China in receiving the mails regularly by way of the Steamers . . .

I remain with true affection, thy own loving sister Rebecca.

Dearest— (to her husband—no date)

With regard to Mr. O—I am not surprised at the rumours, but they are entirely without foundation—He has talked candidly with me on the subject. He has (I presume from what he says) an attachment at home, & if he had not, I do not think she¹⁰ would be suited to his taste, as a wife, though he thinks highly of her—But he said he thought it would be best (as we could not all ride in one carriage, which would have been very desirable had it been possible) that he should always take her, rather than that she should go sometimes with one gentleman & sometimes with another and I quite agreed with him. So that she has always rode with him, except once, soon after we arrived, when she rode out one morning with Mr. Cunningham¹¹—People here, think he, Mr. O. is in love with her &c. but that is merely because of the circumstance of her staying at the same house, that they think it a necessary consequence. He is very kind & brotherly in his attentions—indeed all that a brother could do for us, he does—

Oh dear husband—how much I long to see thee, no language can express—I feel like a vine, torn from the oak or elm to which it had clung & left unsupported on the ground—Love me & pray for me—

Thy own dear wife
Rebecca

10 Mary Ann Southwick, niece of Nathaniel Kinsman, daughter of Elizabeth Kinsman and John Allen Southwick, both of whom died in 1831. Mary Ann was about 16 when she went to China with the Kinsmans, and was very charming. She married George Cabot Ward of New York City in 1852.

11 Mary Ann's attractiveness was the cause of a good deal of anxiety to her uncle and aunt. Mr. Lejée, a partner when they arrived, was the first. Mr. Cunningham fell seriously in love with her during their stay in Manila, but changed his mind after he went home and talked it over with his sister!

Manila Sunday Jan 18th. 1846

My beloved Husband—

I yesterday afternoon, sent thee a letter of two & a half sheets by the *Lyl* and soon after dispatching it Mr. Edwards came out, bringing thy dear precious letter just received per *Daniel*. . . . I concluded by the advice of our friends, to wait for the French Vessel, but now we learn that she may not get away under ten days. There is also an English Ship, the *Dorothy*, to sail about the same time, in either of which we can be accommodated, and both go to Macao. . . . Capt. Osborn stays out here with us, and that is very pleasant to us—He had a very tempestuous passage down from Hong-hai of 6 days, and arrived much worn & with several of his men sick. Will get off again in a week for Hamburgh—While at the Islands, he visited one new place and was attacked by the Natives, and had 4 or 5 of his teeth knocked out, which changes his appearance very much, but I recognize his boyish looks as well as those of his brother.

Manila 1st. Mo. 31st. 1846

My dear darling Sister.

The *Lenox* is to sail tomorrow, and I am unwilling that she should go without a few lines from me, though I do not feel much in the mood of writing to-day. We are still detained here most unwillingly by the want of a good opportunity of returning, but are now expecting to leave within the ensuing week—in an English Vessel, the *Dorothy* for China—and I trust to be able to write thee from Macao by the next mail, which will probably precede this letter, of our safe arrival there. Our dear Ecce has been more unwell for the last few weeks, which has rendered me very anxious indeed, and combined with my absence from home & my husband, has rendered my situation a very painful one—Mary Anne's company and assistance have been an unspeakable comfort to me. She has an uncommon degree of firmness for a person of her age—more than many older ones, & I am sorry to be obliged to acknowledge more than I possess myself. I used to "plume" myself on possessing a considerable share, but alas—my self confidence has met with a sad fall. Thee can easily imagine my anxiety to return. The Captain of the *Dorothy* came out to see us a few days since—His name is the very remarkable one of John Brown, and he is a short fat person, and looks clever—talks a great deal

of Mrs. Brown—and his ten children—I do hope nothing will happen to prevent our going at the time expected.

2d. Mo. 3d. Third day—Dearest Sister. We are to leave here tomorrow or the day after for Macao—I trust we may have a good passage over—I have a good deal to do by way of packing &c—so cannot write much to-day. Farewell dear Sister—tomorrow or the day after we embark upon the treacherous deep once more, and may the kind Providence of God protect us in safety to our home in China.

Warm love of thy most aff.

Sister Rebecca—

Macao Sunday 5½ PM 15th

Feby/46

My beloved Wife,

Thank God, you are thus far safe—Your letter & that of Mr. Cunningham have this moment reached me, and I am in such a state of excitement that I find it difficult to write.

I have been watching the slow progress of a Bark ever since noon, but with only a slight idea that it might be the *Dorothy*, and if her I had no certainty that you were on board. Is it, and can it be possible, that a vessel bearing such treasures to me, has been in sight 6 hours, and now she is as far off as when I first saw her,—Oh, how I long to see you—come, do come, favour them ye kind breezes.

I left Canton yesterday (Saturday) @ 4 PM & arrived in front of our house this morning at ½ past 3, remained on board the boat until day light when I landed. You may be surprised to hear how sick dear *Natty* has been, and still more so to be informed that yesterday was the first time for six weeks that the dear boy has breathed the fresh air, having been confined with fever all that time. I too have had an attack of fever from which I am only now recovering. Doctor Parker recommended a change of air as being good for us both and so off I started, and here we are thanks be to God, none the worse for our trip. As soon as breakfast I turned to with Compradore, boys & coolies to get down the carpets, and make the house in decent order to receive such *welcome guests*. I had just reclined upon the couch for rest, when in came the Compradore bearing a letter & saying, Missy have come, You can imagine how soon I was on my feet. Sent for the boatman to ascertain if the Bark I had seen all day or all the afternoon was the *Dorothy*, but got

nothing satisfactory from him. He only knew that he left the vessel this morning at anchor & had not seen her since.

I will engage a Fast boat tonight to be off in good season tomorrow morning, and if the weather should be pleasant enough for me to dare venture, I shall come off in her. Don't let what I have said about Natty alarm you. . . . Your poor husband too is as thin as a rail—you will be astonished to see such shadows of those you left behind. Nothing but dire necessity could have taken me from Canton at this time, there is a great deal to do, and Wetmore goes in the Steamer of the first. I must be back in a week from today at any and all rates. So I hope it will not be long before you land. . . . I shall not sleep a wink tonight. My wife within 6 miles of me, and I not able to see her!! . . . The Boatman said he could not go off again tonight but a liberal cumshaw has changed his views, & he now promises to start immediately. I am anxious for you to know that I am here, and that arrangements will be made to get you on shore tomorrow. The fast boatman has just been in to say that the tide will not answer to leave in the morning until *10 o'clock*. This is exceedingly provoking, but there is no help for it.

You need not be surprised to see me on board tomorrow. I shall hardly be able to withstand so great a temptation. The Boatman waits & I must say adieu. My tenderest love to you all, and

believe me as ever fondly and
affectionately Your, Nathl.

I cannot realize that my precious ones are so near, God Bless you all. Natty sends his love to you all

Macao, Monday Morning 7 o'clock

Feby 16/46

My dearly beloved Wife,

The Boatman has concluded to start off—But as I feel not as well as yesterday, I am afraid of the consequences if I go off—Nothing would delight me more than to come on board & see where you have been living, but prudence dictates nay, and for once I will be prudent—and will leave all to your good friend Mr. Cunningham.

Hoping to embrace you & the darlings before noon, I remain your longing &

loving husband
N.

(Letter was addressed): Mrs. N. Kinsman
on board Bark *Dorothy*
Macao Roads

BOOK REVIEWS

UNDER SAIL AND IN PORT in the Glorious 1850's, being the Journal from 1 May to 3 October 1852 kept by Charlotte A. Page. Also Excerpts from Journal and Letters written Sept. 20, 1856 to Jan. 30, 1857 by Alvin R. Page, Jr. With Introduction and Notes by Alvin Page Johnson. 1950, 88 pp. octavo, cloth, illus. Salem, Peabody Museum. Price, \$4.50.

Mr. Walter Muir Whitehill, Librarian of the Boston Athenaeum, has written an excellent foreword for this interesting volume which has been brought out recently by the Peabody Museum, Salem. Charlotte A. Page was the daughter of Alvin Reed Page, a sea-faring man, and when at sixteen her health gave her parents some anxiety, they determined to let her take a voyage in the ship *George Washington* to Mobile and Europe. The young daughter of Capt. Cummings accompanied her and the story of the voyage is related by Miss Page, who had been a student at Miss Allen's school in Newton. It is a perfectly normal diary of a school girl, and while not exciting, tells of her life on board a ship and is of general interest simply because it was kept at sea rather than on land. As Mr. Whitehill writes: "A hundred years ago many New Englanders were thoroughly amphibious. They went to sea as a matter of course; they often knew the distant ports of the East more readily than inland cities fifty miles from their homes and on occasion they transplanted their home life on board ship as if it were the most natural thing in the world to do." The Introduction was written by Mr. Alvin Page Johnson of Swampscott, son of Charlotte Page Johnson who has given us much valuable information on the voyages and the Page family. This is a book which will be well received by all interested in sea-going affairs, as well as by the public at large. Strongly recommended to all libraries.

EMILY DICKINSON'S LETTERS to Dr. and Mrs. Josiah Gilbert Holland. Edited by Theodora Van Wagenen Ward. 1951, 252 pp. octavo, cloth, illus. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. Price, \$4.00.

These letters are edited by Mr. J. G. Holland's granddaughter. This is the first book to be published since the

transfer of the Emily Dickinson papers from Amherst to Houghton Library of Harvard University. The ninety-three letters that Emily Dickinson wrote to her dear friends, the Hollands, form a single sequence spanning the major portion of the writer's life. Mrs. Ward has been working for several years on the preparation of this volume, which is being published independently of the forthcoming comprehensive edition by Thomas H. Johnson of the writer's poems and letters. Emily Dickinson has been one of the most misunderstood and misrepresented of our American poets. Mrs. Ward's edition of this group of letters shows a genuinely historical approach to her life, her prose and her poetry. The literary world will find both pleasure and profit in reading Emily's letters as she wrote them. They are chronologically arranged, a system which will be found useful. Recommended to all lovers of poetry and to libraries generally.

COME HOME AT EVEN. A Novel by Le Grand Cannon, Jr. 1951, 283 pp. octavo, cloth. New York: Henry Holt and Company. Price, \$3.00.

This is an interesting novel about the life of a Puritan settler in 1628 in the new town of Salem. He came to this country from England because he believed that it was the will of the Lord, and the life here with his family depicts all the struggles and hardships of the early pioneers. A moving story which is good reading.

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ELIZABETH MARGARET CARTER

From a miniature painted by a daughter of Gilbert Stuart, in June, 1820

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No. 4

A NEWBURYPORT WEDDING ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY YEARS AGO

THE BRIDE, ELIZABETH MARGARET CARTER

Anyone who has ever tried to visualize what went on a century or more ago right in the place where they are now living, knows how hard it is to find any of the details of the everyday life of the people—what was an evening entertainment like, what the procedure at a wedding, what preparations were made for festivities and how did the bride and groom act. For just this reason, it seems worth while to print this rather detailed account of what happened from the time when the bride and her family began to prepare for this great event till the couple were actually married and settled in their home. The modern bride would doubtless consider it a bit boresome to be escorted to her future home by such a numerous company. The ladies of today will be interested in the dress-making and the elaborate making of the cake and the food for the guests.

Elizabeth Margaret Carter, the bride, was the eldest daughter¹ of Joshua Carter and Elizabeth Duncan who lived in the big square brick house which he built about 1795 which stood next to the Wolfe Tavern. Joshua Carter was a prosperous merchant of Newburyport with several ships in the overseas trade. Two of his vessels the *American Eagle* and the *Hannah and Elizabeth* were ships of nearly three hundred tons² which was large for

¹ See Carter Genealogy, Essex Institute Hist. Coll., LXV, 449-506.

² Newburyport Ship Registers.

those days. Mr. Carter's losses were very heavy during the French depredations on our vessels. There is a pleasant story about a Capt. Carter, who was probably his brother Thomas, being captured by a French privateer³ and then retaking his vessel, but the vessel does not seem to have belonged to Joshua. The French spoils are said to have caused his business failure but he continued to own ships as late as 1822.⁴ His son was lost when supercargo of a ship in 1817.⁵

Elizabeth Duncan, his wife, was the daughter of James Duncan, Sr., a merchant in Haverhill and had married first a brilliant young lawyer, John Thaxter,⁶ who had been John Adams' secretary during the peace negotiations in Europe which ended our Revolutionary War. John Thaxter by whom she had two children died four years after their marriage. On August 4, 1794 she married Joshua Carter by whom she had seven children, the bride described herein was the third. Mrs. Carter lived to the ripe age of ninety-seven and finally died at the home of her daughter, the bride of our story, in Boston, October 6, 1864.

The account of the wedding is in the shape of a journal kept by Mrs. Anna Quincy Thaxter Parsons, wife of Nehemiah Parsons, older half-sister of the bride, to be sent to her half-brother George Duncan Carter then on a voyage. The writer had considerable sprightliness of style and the story is an interesting one. It begins with the bride and her fiancé travelling up to Boston to do necessary shopping and dressmaking and to attend to the furnishing of their new home on Pitt Street. Pitt Street is a short street parallel with Chardon Street running from Green Street to Merrimack Street. It was no doubt a pleasant locality then when Bowdoin Square was a fashionable center of the city. She stayed with Aunt Baldwin who was her mother's sister; Margaret Duncan the second wife of Rev. Thomas Baldwin, the distinguished pastor of the Second Baptist Church in Boston.

3 Joshua Coffin: History of Newbury, 270.

4 Newburyport Ship Registers.

5 Carter Genealogy, *op cit.*

6 See Journal of Eliza Cranch; Essex Inst. Hist. Coll. LXXX, 829.

After two weeks the couple went back to Newburyport and active preparation for the wedding began but with this outline let the story teller proceed with her tale.

THE JOURNAL

Boston,
May 6, 1821

In compliance with our beloved Mother & Sister's request, and in conformity with my own wishes, dear Brother, I give you a journal of events from the time Elizabeth came to Boston, as a visitor, until she again returned to become a resident.

Journal of Events from March 31 to April 29, 1821.

Saturday, March 31st. A week from the day on which you sailed was uncommonly pleasant. Mr. Reynolds⁷ & Elizabeth⁸ improved it for their journey hither from Newburyport & safely arrived at 5 P. M., where, as usual, a most cordial reception awaited them. I thought Elizabeth looked better than I feared was possible after Pa's & your sad description.

Sunday, April 1st. The reverse of yesterday, cold & cloudy. Elizabeth passed the day at home; and must, I presume, have been much edified in the afternoon, as Mr. Reynolds with his unceasing assiduity would not allow her to read, therefore took upon himself the task, & commenced one of Saurin's forcibly written sermons; the effect was totally lost, however, for at the conclusion of one of the finest passages, the Reader, on looking up, beheld his auditor sound asleep!

Monday, April 2nd. A continuation of Clouds & cold winds. E.M. & Mr. Reynolds rode over to Pitts St.; it was the first survey of her house & she returned well satisfied with its pleasantness and conveniences. Fanny Reynolds⁹ & I took tea at Aunt Baldwin's, where Elizabeth, for the present, has established herself.

⁷ William Belcher Reynolds (1797-1866) of Boston, the bridegroom.

⁸ Elizabeth Margaret Carter (1799-1866) the bride.

⁹ Frances Mackay Reynolds, (1795-) sister of the bridegroom.

Tuesday, April 3rd. The sun shines bright, but the east wind seems to predominate in its influence. Aunt Baldwin, Elizabeth Margaret, Fanny Reynolds and I went to the house to commence arrangements. Mr. Reynolds and Mr. Andrews¹⁰ kindly assisted. Before noon, I assure you, the china closet was in ample order, without any great demolition of glass or china. For the sake of variety, a trifling dispute arose between taste and convenience; the latter being arrayed in Japan, did not so well accord with the former's cerulean hue. In the end, the jury decided on a distinct establishment; that being the only decision satisfactory to the Parties. The afternoon was devoted to a selection of carpets; in which, not being successful, rather than not accomplish something, Elizabeth secured a most violent cold, to ensure head-ache next day.

Wednesday, April 4th. Pleasant morning. Engaged with a mantua maker & a very bad pain in the head, E.M. had sufficient with which to contend for the day. Aunt & I shopped for her in the morning, & you would have been highly amused at the manner of Aunt's purchases.¹¹ She obtained the goods at her own price, despite the shop-keeper's assurances they were worth double the value. She persisted, much to my diversion, I remaining a silent witness of the bargains made, not venturing to open my lips. Fanny & Mr. Andrews passed the eve with her.

Thursday, April 5th, Fast Day. Charming weather for Fast Day. A fine clear air, to produce a good appetite against sunset, dinner, you know, being prohibited. Elizabeth & Mr. Reynolds rode out, her head a little better; they returned, took tea with me, as did Fanny and Mr. Andrews. Had a most miserably stupid time, as every one does who visits me. I have only the wish, without the power of rendering myself agreeable, even to my friends; & to strangers it is entirely out of the question. I distrust myself so much that I dare not advance the ideas I do possess; & habits of taciturnity have so increased upon me of late, that exertion has become painful. At

¹⁰ William T. Andrews, lawyer, one of the groomsmen, married Fanny Reynolds.

¹¹ Evidently the Duncan trading instinct coming out.



ANN Q. THAXTER
Wife of Nehemiah Parsons

nine, Elizabeth left me, to go home, & apply a blister behind each ear, according to Dr. Reynolds'¹² orders, and take a cold shower bath.

Friday, April 6th. Lovely day. A mantua maker again, preparing dresses, etc. Fanny, the Miss Lambs & I passed the afternoon with E. to assist in sewing; we worked so abominably fast, that at tea-time, we made sad havock among the flap-jacks, gingerbread, & plumb-cakes, I assure you, for which, I suppose, had you been there, you would not have cared, never eating sweet things yourself, for fear of spoiling your teeth. While the good Doctor (the Rev. Thomas Baldwin) was gone to preach his evening lecture, we were making merry at home; not even excusing Aunt, who, with her little laughing black eyes, would occasionally pop in with a funny joke, & add her share to the general hilarity of the evening.

Saturday, April 7th. The weather most delightful. Many visitors; & much business transacted withal; besides a mantua-maker. Decided on carpets. Straw for two chambers, green & white kidderminster for another, Venetian like Mr. Cruft's for the parlours, & stairs to match. The effect is very good, of the Venetian carpets, and shows taste in the selectors, whom I believe were the present owners.

Sunday, April 8th. It has required a good Christmas fire to keep one warm today, so cold, so cloudy, so opposite to yesterday. Of course, Elizabeth Margaret has been housed, & had time for reflection on things past, present and to come; she has doubtless improved it, being one of those who wish never to lose a moment.

Monday, April 9th. Still ungenial weather, though necessity has prompted E.M. to visit her house. Miss Ray is making woolen carpets & Mr. Andrews, with all the kindness of a Brother, has relinquished the profession of the law, for today, and condescended to become an upholsterer; assisting in nailing down carpets, putting up bedsteads, & various other matters. He has been so atten-

¹² Dr. Edward Reynolds brother of William, founder of the Boston Eye and Ear Infirmary.

tive, & so really useful that we feel very grateful to him indeed; and as for myself I have become quite attached to him.

Tuesday, April 10th. Revivifying weather after the cold; mantua-maker, 2 Miss Lambs,¹³ & Fanny, all day assisting Elizabeth's wardrobe, in the completion. My dear little Caroline quite ill, that I was unable to be with them, maternal duties bearing the first claim.

Wednesday & Thursday, 11th & 12th. Both days, the skies deformed by clouds and tempests. Snow & rain, winds & hail have alternately succeeded each other, so that the earth is completely saturated. However, considerable progress has been made in the household affairs, the weather not particularly interfering with those, & haste being quite requisite.

Friday, April 13th. A cessation of wet weather, though sun & clouds are still contending. I called to see Elizabeth Margaret this morning. It being the last of her stay in Boston she is exceedingly busy. Such an endless variety of things to occupy her mind, that I fear she will suffer from it. She goes on with wonderful rapidity and effect, but she has a most admirable assistant in her best friend. I never saw anyone more attentive & thoughtful than Mr. Reynolds, and so tender & affectionate he is to her, that I shall always love him for his kindness. He possesses an excellent heart, and a disposition ever ready & happy to oblige; with sufficient sensibility to render him a very interesting friend. I rejoice that Elizabeth has so fair a prospect of happiness, and sincerely trust that her visions of felicity may prove realities. Surely no state can admit of a greater or purer degree of happiness, than that on which she is about to enter: and there is none, where a dissimilarity of sentiment & feeling exist, that is admissible of greater misery. She has reposed her affections where, no doubt, they will be cherished with tenderness & care, not thrown back to wither & die in the cold waste of apathy & neglect. Oh what is there so fatal

¹³ Daughters of Thomas Lamb of Boston, descended from John Duncan of Londonderry, N. H., second cousins of the bride.

to conjugal happiness as indifference; to meet from that eye which should beam with animation and pleasure at our approach, nothing but contempt & scorn; it is the shaft which gives the heart its death blow and rends asunder those cords which should forever unite us. That the fair morning now opening upon our dear Sister may never be overcast, & that her sun may set in a serene sky at its decline is the prayer of her devotedly attached Anna.

Saturday, April 14th. Clear, healthy though cool air for Spring. Yesterday was a very busy day for us all; each having numerous preparations to make for the approaching event. We accomplished our undertakings which allows us to proceed this morning on our journey to Newburyport. My dear little Caroline, though still feeble, is much better than I anticipated, from the seriousness of her attack. I left her in good hands & at eleven o'clock, with Sister, Fanny Reynolds, & Fanny Lamb,¹⁴ I set out for Newburyport, in a small carriage. We almost flew, twice changing horses, on the road, notwithstanding our taking the longest route, we reached N.Port at ½ past four O'clock, where Caroline & Margaret¹⁵ greeted us with a welcome. Dear Mother we did not see till near six, she, judging we should not arrive till late, had gone to make some friendly calls on Aunt Nabby & Miss Nanny & some other Goody's. We found all well, & could our dear George have added his salutation to the rest, it would have made us quite happy. We made a voracious supper, Elizabeth & F. Lamb particularly; they feeling an undoubted right to eat plentifully, having fasted all day.

Sunday April 15th. Arose in clouds. We all staid at home, except those who went to meeting, among which latter number was not E.M. or I. We paid the store-closet a visit in the morning, though at dinner we did justice to a nice sirloin & pudding. In the afternoon we reviewed some letters & had much agreeable conversation, without any scandal, that disgrace to the female tongue.

¹⁴ Frances, daughter of Thomas Lamb and Rosanna Duncan Lamb (1793-1846).

¹⁵ Caroline Carter (1804-1833) and Margaret Duncan Carter (1809-1882) younger sisters of the bride.

Monday, April 16th. Pleasant weather. We all the morning seated ourselves at work, finishing off remains of mantua-making. In the afternoon we had a tea-party, or rather an antiquarian party; it was in the real old style. They came at 3 O'clock, seated themselves all in a row; & with one accord, military like, down went the right hand, up popped bags of enormous size, 3rd motion opened their mouths, & 4th drew out knitting needles & yarn that might serve for cables to any 74 in the Navy. All fell to work, & more stocking yarn was consumed that afternoon than I have seen used for some forty years past. At six O'clock the tea-table was ushered in, which was the signal for the cessation of their labours. With unanimous consent & unanimous motion disappeared these pouches of stockings which I presume are laid by till the next meeting, & should I judge by the size, meeting after meeting must ensue, ere the completion of such Herculean labours. The tea was handed, each took a cup, took a sip, then the tray of cake & toast, each took a bit & took a bite, alternately, till each had disappeared; then as the tray was successively handed, commencing with the poorest, they took till they had tasted each kind of cake, & after that, all stopped, folded up their starched pocket hdkfs, which had previously been widely spread & put them by. The clock struck seven, they rose from their seats, dropped a curtesy, said good-night & went home to go to bed by twilight to save candles. Should you feel desirous of ascertaining the names of this set of antiques, I have a list reserved for your inspection, when you return. I will just mention one little Squire, a famous argufyer, who argalled (instead of argued) all the afternoon, upon what subject I could not decide. I doubt if anyone else could. He did make himself so far intelligible as to ask if I was the remains of one Anna Thaxter that used to go to Old Town meetings, for he declared he could not believe it; I used to be a tolerable likely gal, but now, did not look fit for anything. That was argufying to the purpose I think. Well, we will let them rest, they were educated in the days of yore & their minds became so contracted



MRS. MARGARET BALDWIN

in youth, that it was impossible for them to expand in later years.

Tuesday, April 17th. What a snow storm! We concluded we must have dreamed away the summer & that it is the 17th of December instead of the 17th of April. You will hardly credit me, when I assure you it is a fact that the snow is so drifted and so deep, that it is even with the top of the fence all the distance up the yard. Pa says he never recollects such a sight in his life; it is more violent than any storm we have had this winter. We are all quite merry indoors. Miss Colby is here at work for Caroline, who is fixing for the Metropolis. We all want you much and think we should like the contrast of some West India story, to this inclement weather.

Wednesday, April 18. What an aspect for spring! The sleighs are running in every direction; & boys are pelting each other with snowballs as if it were the first flight in Autumn or Winter. We have scalded, washed and picked currants all day, that people might not break out their teeth eating wedding cake, & at last drew the conclusion that we would petition the people of Zante to send more currants and fewer stones, for in time we feared all their island might be transported here in casks of currants. We finished, congratulating each other that we had got through, and for our second supper, to cheer our fatigued spirits, took "brandy & water hot, to "wash down" a plate of cake. We then went up stairs and as all four of us occupied one chamber you may be sure there was a confusion of tongues.

Thursday, April 19th. A capital day. Miss Elizabeth Margaret, with her faithful Squire, Jemmy, set out to make calls & accomplished 15, while we at home were busy, beating eggs, pounding spice, weighing sugar and butter & engaged in all the etceteras of baking. Polly¹⁶ came over and assisted; & 150 weight of cake was never better made, better baked, or better tasted than was the cake this day made. Midnight beheld Mother & Frances

¹⁶ Probably Mary Carter, cousin of the bride, married George Wheelwright.

Lamb frosting cake, & raking up the fire, the rest of us having previously retired. They held out to some purpose you will say, when you see what a handsome dress cake they have reserved for you in all the dignity of sugar almonds & Caraway Comforts.

Friday, April 20th. The continuation of a cloudless sky induced E.M. to continue her farewell calls & among them were some so exceedingly pathetic that, beware, even the description should be *melting*. Mrs. Cross¹⁷ received her with her usual dignity & *warmth*; bewailed in the most lamentable manner her departure from town & was quite sure the flower of Newburyport with her would depart indeed; wondered how they should get along in their desolate state, & burst into such a flood of tears, that Elizabeth, fearing she should be *overwhelmed*, gladly made her escape; but in so doing she avoided Scylla, to enter Charybdis; for at her next stop, there were many parting embraces, & she apprehended nothing short of suffocation. She did live to return home at one O'clock, & withal so hungry that out of the variety of a dozen kinds of cake, not one did she leave untasted. Your cocoanuts I assure you became a weighty ingredient among the incorporated bodies, much to our satisfaction; & as to the limes, they flavored the apple tarts so exquisitely, that not a vestige of them remained after the wedding supper. To-day's sun has set upon 50 weight more cake; the varieties of which it is out of my power to designate; apple tarts, Lemon pudding, & flummery of all sorts brought up the rear. So imagine us at ½ past nine seated round the parlour fire, eating, drinking, & curling up our hair, Pa & Ma having retired. Mrs. Frothingham has been in and passed an hour with us; she also has gone & left us to our cogitations which are rather somniferous.

Saturday, April 21. Fine day. The gadding spirit still prevailing, E.M. & Caroline went out neighboring. The Parson himself was so cordial in his salutation, that he e'en like to have converted Elizabeth into jelly,

¹⁷ The Crosses were a conspicuous family of ship builders in Newburyport and also held military and civic offices. Stephen Cross was Collector of the Port.

for he shook & shook, not contented with that, he shook again, & for aught I know, her frame still trembles at the universal tremor then excited. The Ladies starched & slapped & ironed muslins. I trotted round. Ma ordered the house nicely cleaned, & in the midst of our bustle who should call but Miss M. Gilman;¹⁸ she feared intruding, but was so very anxious to see us, she could not resist coming. The fun of it was, Margaret went in & told her she must excuse us, & apologized that none of us could see her, when in the midst, F. Lamb, not knowing what Peggy had said, marched in & received her. We had quite a frolic about it. After dinner, we walked down to the shops, bought some small articles, returned, when Elizabeth Margaret & I rode up to Aunt Becky's¹⁹ & Mrs. Cousan's. We went over Aunt Becky's new house, were quite charmed with its internal arrangements. At Mrs. Cousan's, saw only her meek sister Sally giving the children their suppers; the Lady having gone to visit Susan Marquand²⁰ who of late has been dangerously ill. Heard Mr. Cousan had established himself in Boston, & that with his family he intended fixing his residence there very shortly. After our safe return, we established ourselves in the parlour there to await the arrival of the stagecoach presuming it would contain the interesting object, that has occasioned all this active preparation. We waited not in vain, for with the coach, came the Brides-groom, to Elizabeth, I suppose, the most important event of the week.

Sunday, April 22nd. A little chilly. All devout attendants on Mr. Withington but Caroline & myself. We staid at home to chat matters over. In the evening we all made Aunt Nabby a call, where Elizabeth shone pre-eminently agreeable. Found Aunt dull & anxious, as on the succeeding Wednesday she was to move a considerable distance, down by her Brother Becks. We made only

18 The Gilmans were printers with offices on Middle St. They were also Baptists which was Mrs. Carter's denomination.

19 Probably a courtesy title as neither Mr. or Mrs. Carter had a sister "Becky."

20 The Marquands were prominent privateer owners in the Revolution.

a short visit; then came home, & as we thought formed quite an agreeable circle around the fire; we must have been sadly blinded for at nine O'clock, Mr. Reynolds, contrary to his usual civility, turns to F. Lamb & myself & says, Ladies you look most abominably sleepy, you had better go to bed. We were so much shocked by his rudeness, that like a glance of lightning we all disappeared—except Elizabeth, who remained doubtless to read him a lecture upon good manners.

Monday, April 23rd. Saw us up betimes. A most lovely day, lots of business to do. The first grand operation after breakfast, was cutting the wedding cake! of which there were 14 loaves. Ma, with the generosity natural to her, commenced with most noble slices, which F. Reynolds observing, she broke out into such an epithalamium, "oh, that will never do, we shall not have any to carry to Pitts Street" & so it was all the day, she was so fearful that the Pitts Street establishment should not be well furnished with lots of cake, that we could hardly pile our dishes, or scrape a grain to taste of when she was by. Oh, could you have been with us this morning, you would have had lots of fun, & lots of good things. We did succeed, by coaxing Fanny, to at last fill our waiters with lots of cake, fancifully decorated with lots of flowers. Then came on the tapis an article of great import. Although it was entitled *a Trifle*, yet were you aware of the lots of good things it contained, you would consider it a valuable one. One of its component parts was Pie, pie, a most delicious substitute for citron. Guaver, & calves foot jelly, Limes, cocoanut mackaroons, currants, 12 kinds of cake, cream, wine, sugar, comfits composed some of its most solid ingredients, with the addition of whatever Fanny could lay hands on, whether it should be black pepper or old cheese; for she stood & threw in such a compound, that we trembled for our own fates at last, dreading what such a whimsical fancy might dictate; & that our history's might be enveloped in lots of sweets. However, for the sake of covering all defects, we surmounted this said trifle with syllabub, high as the Olympian hills; so that had any soft glances been thrown from



IN THIS HOUSE ON STATE STREET, NEWBURYPORT, THE MARRIAGE OF
ELIZABETH CARTER AND WILLIAM B. REYNOLDS TOOK PLACE

the head to the foot of the table, of course they would have been intercepted & lost amid that multitudinous assemblage. Our tables were next displayed & arranged with all possible taste & elegance. The trifle graced the centre & around it succeeded dainties & delicacies, for the ensuing celebration. After 3 hours incessant frolic, we retired to dress, expecting the arrival of the grooms-men. They came not till the evening stage, which gave us time to recruit our exhausted spirits. By way of variety, Ma & I rode down to Uncle Shorts,²¹ & what should they want us to do, but bring back 2 or 3 live chickens in the chaise with us. I was paralyzed with astonishment at the monstrosity of the proposal, & the sensitiveness of my nervous system endured such tremblification that I much doubt if it will ever again recover its equilibrium.

After transacting the business upon which we set out, you may rest assured our Rozinante trotted most nimbly back. (I could not say as much for his outward journey) and we found all employed with their needles upon white satin ribbons & laces etc., etc. The grooms-men came to tea, & with them the Metropolitan news. Joe Marquand came in & passed the evening with the young Ladies. We older ones were busy in stuffing a round of beef, & remembering people must dine as well as sup. Joe was vastly agreeable; & has urged us, one & all, to make a long visit in June in N. Port. We presume he is suffering from want of society & so felt it incumbent to solicit in that way.

Prompted by exhaustion (no other reason) I took a dose of hot geneva & water, which had so soothing an effect, that my slumbers were unusually protracted; & 7 O'clock, the morning of the most eventful day Tuesday, found me still a worshipper of Somnus.

Tuesday, April 24th, The day of the Wedding. Most propitious weather, for it is one of our loveliest Spring days. The morning has risen in beauty, may its evening decline in equal brilliancy; & may this clear unclouded sky prove an unfailing emblem of years of happiness to succeed this interesting epoch.

21 The Short family were of the first settlers of Newbury.

After breakfast the Brides-groom with his two attendants, Mr. Andrews & Thomas Smith,²² set out in quest of horses to take a morning ride, but the livery stables not affording sufficient mettle for their high Spirits, they altered their plan to a pedestrian excursion, & as it did but amuse & detain them from the house for an hour or two, it mattered not to us; gentlemen having such decided dislike to the necessary movements of brushes & dusters. Our sideboard could have done honor to any green house in the Country, I assure you; The roses, fairest of the flowery tribe, & sacred at the shrine of Love, unfolded their petals & diffused around their richest odours—auriculars, geraniums, gilly-flowers, & daisies, the humble little flowrett Burns has so sweetly eulogized, all contributed their share of beauty & fragrance so that the tout ensemble was strikingly pretty.

Chairs were next placed side by side to accommodate those with seats, who were too lazy to stand. The astral lamp stood on the card table, 4 candles were displayed on the mantelpiece & 4 on the side-board. Then was drawn in the chair of state, which was the couch from the front parlour, & put between the side-board and the fire-place. Our parlour was now complete, with the closing of the blind, daylight throwing too great a glare upon our arrangements. Frances Lamb made lemonade, Fanny Reynolds tripped round tickling others, Elizabeth walked round making her tongue the vehicle of agreeability, Caroline was lengthening her visage from one foot to three in length, Ma was busy in various preparations, I was full of mischief, Margaret had gone to school, & in sooth we were all running up & down, back & forth, round & round, employing ourselves as we saw fit.

The front parlour at one O'clock, as it has often done before, presented a scene sufficiently sweet & plentiful, to attract either you or I, dear Brother; we have often experienced the efficacy of the good things there bestowed & made many a fine meal, in the form of luncheon.

²² Probably Thomas Carter Smith (1796-1830), son of Joshua Carter's sister Hannah, later a sea captain; was captured by Greek pirates, and was a friend of Lord Byron.

The dinner hour arrived, Aunt Baldwin & Cousin Mary²³ arrived with it. Should you like to know of what our dinner consisted? Well then, imagine, firstly, the decapitation of those very chickens Uncle Short wished to impose upon us, in their state of animal existence; & see them at the head of the table, dished up in the honours of a boil. At the opposite extremity, which you know of course is the foot, stood a round of beef, dressed A la mode, with all its usual concomitants. Then for Father's special pleasure, in the middle stood the Castor; luckily the table was somewhat lengthy, or it might have reposed in disjointed particles on the carpet, much to our discomfiture; each side of that in silent slices was a dish of tongue; they moved, 'twas true, but no sound issued thence, & strange to tell, they seemed to glide away without anyone's accounting for their disappearance.

The variety of vegetables the season offered, with the gravies, occupied all the little odd corners & places; Lemon puddings & apple pies made the summum bonum. After the cloth was removed, a general expression appeared of "where is the dessert?"—when Lo, Poor I had to encounter the exposure of my natural contrariness, & to say I would not prepare one, thinking it unnecessary!! Fanny Reynolds kindly offered to assist me in my dilemma, by saying no one had asked her to take wine, & she thought it time they had. Bless me, had you seen the alacrity with which everyone reached forth for the decanters to fill her glass and their own, you would have really withdrawn your compassion from me entirely, in the fear that she might become the more deserving object of the two. We found it expedient to rise from our seats, & accordingly did so at two O'clock, we frolicked an hour, & separated from the Beaux, they retiring to dress, & we to do the same. It happened Mr. Withington²⁴ had a lecture that evening beginning at the same hour, the wedding was to be solemnized; now what does he do, but, to accommodate

23 Probably Mary Ann Duncan, daughter of Robert Duncan of Grantham, N. H., who lived often with her aunt. She married John Bryant.

24 Rev. Leonard Withington, minister of the First Church in Newbury from 1816-1885.

all parties & not to lose his fee & cake, Sabbath, after meeting, proposes his lecture should begin half an hour later than usual, which was very kind in him.

From three O'clock till six was devoted to the occupation of the toilet; if you include teasing, tickling, pinching, etc. with, I won't & I will—in fact, Momus should in good earnest come in for his share, for I believe we all might properly have been styled disciples of the laughter-loving god.

At six we all became soberized; Bride & Bride-maids sat down to rest the ensuing hour. To say they looked well, is nothing unusual for them all; but they looked most sweetly in their bridal robes, which were white muslin trimmed with white satin, & lace.

At half past six, Fanny Reynolds went down stairs to decorate the groomsmen with their rosettes; when, instead of availing themselves of the usual salutation allowable on such occasions, from delicacy, Mr. Andrews took his to tie on himself; awkwardness prompted Thomas Smith to follow his example, & diffidence deterred poor Joe Marquand, who assisted most admirably, that evening in the office of groomsmen. So you see, Fanny was allowed to return upstairs again, without any return for the favors bestowed. No matter, as it served us for another subject of mirth, fun we were determined to pursue at all events.

Now for the wedding assemblage. Parson Withington & two Sisters, Mrs. Frothingham in simple garb arrayed. E. Wheelwright, looking very neat & properly—Mrs. Baldwin starched & prim, Nursy Clark old & thin. Aunt Nabby displayed a long faded white ribbon. Mr. & Mrs. Tom Carter, with a phalanx of boys, in blue uniform & buff jackets. One broad grin diffused itself over the countenances of those last mentioned, & added much to my amusement, I promise you. Polly, Meribah, Catherine, Henrietta, Jemmy & black Clement witnessed the ceremony from the door.

At 7 o'clock precisely, Mr. Reynolds led Miss Carter, Mr. Andrews led Miss Reynolds, Mr. Smith, Miss Lamb & Mr. Marquand Miss C. Carter in to their places, which



WILLIAM B. REYNOLDS



ELIZABETH MARGARET (CARTER) REYNOLDS

was in front of the couch before mentioned, & the Bride Maids arranged themselves on one side, the groomsmen on the other, & the ceremony began. All behaved astonishingly well, & the parties concerned looked exceedingly interesting. Had I been within reach of the Parson, I believe I should have jogged his elbow, when he came to the little word *obey*, but I felt unwilling to run across the room to interrupt the ceremony, when I saw there was so little danger of its being enforced on one side, or assented to on the other—Although there was no Clerk to respond Amen, yet did the Parson acquit himself so handsomely, further aid was unnecessary. The benediction was pronounced & *Mrs. Reynolds* was seated, with her Bride-Maids on each side.

Cake, wine & lemonade was then twice handed, much to the youth's satisfaction; Mr. Withington shook hands with the Queen of the evening, & from the sincerity of his heart, offered his good wishes & congratulations, then, accompanied by his two Sisters, departed. Next arose the two advanced adherents of the family, Aunt Nabby and Nursy—they gave their blessing & retired. Last of all, the Carter Phalanx shook hands, bowed, curtesied, wished much joy, & returned to Mount Pleasant, to lay by their holiday suits, till the next Sabbath bell warned them to prepare for church.

It was 8 O'clock, & the thundering knocker announced a crowded levee. Never has Newburyport shone so brilliantly as on this occasion. All St. James²⁵ appeared, in panoply complete, & even Green Street, & Browns Square,²⁶ sent forth their inhabitants decorated in all the ornamentals their wardrobes could possibly furnish. One good lady indeed, not feeling quite satisfied with the effect of a black lace head dress, determined to relieve the eye, by the exhibition of a huge paste buckle, placed directly over her nose; Her predeliction for putting it there, arose, I should imagine, from the lustre of the eye being somewhat dim. For what purpose the buckle was originally determined, I dare not pretend to decide; I can only assert

²⁵ Probably referring to the aristocracy of Newburyport. The Episcopal Church in Newburyport was St. Paul's.

²⁶ Fashionable residence localities.

that, were it ever destined to clasp a shoe, it must surely have been one of the Mammoth tribe. Each visitor was provided with a receptacle in the shape of a bag, that they might indulge themselves on their return home, by treating their households with wedding cake. A benevolent intention, was it not?

After the room was crowded to excess & waiters of various kinds of cake handed round & round, the real dress Cake itself seated on a pewter dish, & that on a large salver, was ushered in. Every eye was fixed in admiration, & every mouth distended in anticipation, of the rich repast in preparation, for their universal mastication. Parson Andrews²⁷ in propria personae thought he had never seen such display of taste; & he, you know, is well qualified to judge, he moreover observed, that the Cake possessed a quality uncommon, for wedding cake, viz. that of being well-baked. Now which think you he studies most, Theology or the cookery book?

Doctor Prescott next harangued the audience from the easy chair (which, by the way, he occupied all the evening to the annoyance of those who selfishly wished it for themselves) and eloquently decided the cake was beautiful. The Oracle of St. James²⁸ added his quota of praise, and now it is time to describe this cake and its divisions and subdivisions.

Its garb was purely white; Paradisical grains were thickly scattered over its surface, & it was studded with gilded almonds. In the centre towered a beautiful collection of artificial flowers, & round its body was a wreath of laurel. The groomsmen cut it up, and the Bridesmaids assisted by Old Lady Parsons, handed it round; & oh it was astonishing to see how it vanished from sight; a sheet of paper was laid on each plate & a slice of cake laid upon it; soon as received, by each person, the disappearance of it was so instantaneous that we were in many instances deceived & very kindly offered a second & third piece, fearing some omission. Those who had rap-

27 Rev. John Andrews, minister (1808-1830) of the First Religious Society.

28 Perhaps Hon. Rufus King, previously ambassador to the Court of St. James and earlier a resident in Newburyport.



ISABELLE RICHMOND REYNOLDS

In her great great grandmother's brocade dress

idly deposited two pieces, held a third very modestly in their hands, & I do believe if any of them should give a tea party six months hence, Mrs. Reynolds' wedding cake will add its share to the entertainment.

After this ceremony was ended by the entire demolition of the cake, (to Fanny's great regret) the Bride & maid of honour made the circuit of the room; offering a general speechification to all, & receiving the professions of good will & good wishes most lavishly bestowed by all. After this was accomplished, the company having seen the show, & obtained refreshment sufficient to appease the appetite occasioned doubtless by previous fast, they obsequiously bowed, & took their homeward way—animadverting as they went, upon the pleasures of the evening. We were then ready for our supper, which was particularly acceptable to us, having been so loquacious in the course of the last few hours, we were literally hungry, & assure you did honour to the cold Alamode, not forgetting the important Trifle, which was delicious finale.

Pa has seemed quite dejected the last few days, & if you could look at Caroline you would be amazed at the immense length to which she has extended her phiz. As to our dear Mother, she has behaved most delightfully throughout, & is I think without any exception one of the very best women in the world. There is not one particle of selfishness in her composition, & though she feels the coming separation with agonizing keenness, yet she has not uttered one syllable that should depress our Sister's spirits.

Wednesday morn, April 25th. Still a genial air & cloudless sky. At ten O'clock the carriages were ordered. Mr. & Mrs. Reynolds, Fanny, Mr. Andrews & Frances Lamb occupied the first. Cousin Mary, T. Smith, Caroline & myself, with a load of plumb cake, the second, as intended, we reached Salem to dine. An excellent repast, previously ordered, awaited us, we again proceeded on our journey after dining, & the first carriage safely landed its contents at the home in Pitts Street. Not so the second, for in the only ditch we had encountered since we had left Newbury Port, we sank completely down & were

obliged to walk some distance, from the pool to the house. It was only owing to the weight of the cake. It had jolted so unmercifully all the way, that at last it affected our descent in the slough, & as none of us were killed by the accident, we rather rejoiced, there had been some variable-ness in the course of our journey to Town.

I left the Bridal pair at their own establishment & returned once more to the welcome embraces of my dear children. Would I could add, those of an affectionate friend. But a cold "how do ye do," carelessly uttered, & still more indifferently felt, chilled the current of my warmer feelings, & produced that depression of spirits, which neglect always causes, & to which at that moment I was peculiarly susceptible having been so tenderly cherished at home. Habit has a powerful influence, I allow, on the mind & sensibilities; but never could I become accustomed to the endurance of indifference, without the accompaniment of intense suffering. Severity is much less painful to me to encounter, than that silent scorn & cold contempt which I often meet, & which I shrink from as from the greatest enemy imaginable, & which requires the exertion of fortitude, far greater than mine to support.

Thursday, April 26th. Before the breakfast table was fairly cleared away in Pitts Street, who should pay the wedding visit but Uncle Isaac.²⁹ Good old soul, his mind absorbed in better things, he forgets the customs & etiquette of the present day, & prompted by the best of feelings, follows their impulse, without reflection upon ceremony. He called & not finding all quite ready at that early hour, told Mrs. Pickman³⁰ whom next he visited, that he suspected Mrs. Reynolds did not see company that day & she had best wait a little.

After he had gone they had a consultation of what should serve for dinner. A loin of veal seemed to be the decision. The Brides maids protested violently, insisting they would have no succession of minces and

²⁹ Probably the father-in-law of Joshua Carter's sister Hannah.

³⁰ The daughter of Hannah Carter Smith who married Benjamin Pickman.



THE WOLFE TAVERN, NEWBURYPORT

hashes, as they invariably must, should so much meat be cooked at once. To settle the matter, the groomsmen were invited to dine, not for the pleasure of their company, but to assist in devouring this said provision, in which, I believe, all mouths succeeded, for I have heard no more of the horrors of a hash or the more stylish preparation of a mince.

The connections generally called to see the bride to-day, and to look at her in her rocking chair, you would imagine her an old housekeeper. She has placed all things in order, & will for the coming fortnight, remain stationary at home to receive visitors.

Friday, April 27. Many visitors and much amusement. A cheerful spirit prevails among the wedding circle, & how can it be otherwise, when consisting of such happy beings.

Saturday, April 28th. The routine of yesterday. Company—company.

Sunday, April 29th. The Bride & Bridegroom appeared at St. Paul's to-day,³¹ where they have for the present decided to worship. They were considered a fine couple & Mr. Reynolds' taste in the selection of a Lady was most highly approved. I went down & passed Sunday evening with them, & feel a degree of happiness & comfort, unknown to me for years before at the idea of having it in my power so often to see a Sister on whom I so much depend for my enjoyment.

Now, my dear George, what a pleasant addition it would be to us both, would you but be induced to remain in your native land, & not pass your prime of life in tossing over the waves of the dark blue main. We surely must find some magnet of sufficient power, to withdraw you from your present perilous adventures, & attach you more firmly to the soil of your ancestors. Should we venture to solicit the aid of Cupid, his arrow must be tipped with so many golden charms that I should fear a total demolition of our hopes, ere we could succeed. Could

³¹ Mr. Reynolds was for many years senior warden of St. Paul's.

I command the strong box of Croesus no charm would then be wanting. I should command and you would obey, but all I have now to offer is a Sister's love, a Sister's best wishes for your happiness & prosperity & a hope of your speedy return to those around whose hearts you are entwined, with chords of the tenderest affection.

Saturday, May 27. It is now the last of May, & a more general account must, I know, prove acceptable, rather than this continued minutia. What think you, would those say, to read these pages, who complain of Johnson's Biographer? If however it serves to beguile but one moment of your time, I shall feel gratified that I have written so Particularly.

Elizabeth has had many friends call to see her, among whom were the Perkins & Eliots. She has been made most happy, too, by the return of her darling "Sister Sara" or more properly Mrs. Larned. She has returned to Boston, accompanied by William's wife, who is rather agreeable and pretty. Sara retains much of her former appearance, with the exception of color; she is pale & wan, which makes her more than ever interesting in looks; her feelings & attachments are unchanged, which is not only gratifying to her friend, but must prove an essential happiness to herself. Accompanied by her Sisters, she is now visiting Newbury Port, whither, next week, E.M. follows her, to remain a fortnight.

William Wheelwright has also arrived this week, & is quite well. John Hackett³² came home with him in the ship. Aunt Smith³³ is well established at housekeeping, & Thomas has taken himself off again. He sailed for France, a week since, but intends returning after a few months. Mrs. Cruft³⁴ is, I think, declining fast; she looks excessively sick & has a sad cough. Mr. C. Cushing³⁵ intends resigning his office at Cambridge & opening an Office in N. Port where he means to practice in his

³² Probably the son of Joshua Carter's brother Thomas's wife by her first husband.

³³ Joshua Carter's sister Hannah married William Smith, nephew of John Adams.

³⁴ Mrs. Cruft was the daughter of Hannah Carter Smith. She lived till 1859.

³⁵ Caleb Cushing (1800-1879) later special envoy to China.



JOSHUA CARTER



MRS. ELIZABETH CARTER

profession, if possible. Miss Kate Eliot was, on Monday evening, married to Mr. Andrews Norton, & has commenced a tour to Lake George.

Among the many matrimonial engagements, you may possibly be surprised to hear of John Young & Harriot Prescott,³⁶ of Newburyport. His brother William's death had a great effect in soberizing him & he may yet make a smart man. Margaret Cushing goes the first of June to N. Port, to make Ma a long visit, for which I shall be truly grateful, as her society now will be peculiarly acceptable to our dear parent.

After this variety of intelligence, dear Brother, will you let me add, that Kean is again playing to us and attracting the multitude, as formerly. We have not yet been, this is his third evening only, but I feel rather impatient to again witness his extraordinary talents.

I believe I have communicated all the intelligence worthy of transmitting. The Papers of the day, which, probably, the vessel will bear to you, will give you information of the political & commercial occurrences far better than I can; & you must rejoice, I am most fully persuaded, that I have at last arrived at the peroration of this long discourse. It seems hardly credible to us that the brig which bore you so lately from us, should have returned and prepared to sail a second time. I hope favoring gales will waft her speedily along, & that her next return will bring to us a Brother whom we dearly love, & from whom we are ever unwilling to part.

Should you, among the abundance of this most enchanting season, discover in your rambles, any little wild flower with which I am unacquainted, will not your kindness prompt you to cull & place it between the leaves of some volume, that at your return, you may add to the value of my herbarium, by presenting me another of Flora's treasures. The gift will be most peculiarly acceptable, as whenever my eye rests upon its petals, it will receive the hue of brotherly affection, & convince me truly, that although a waste of water rolled between us, yet were they not the waters of oblivion.

³⁶ Harriet Prescott as a fact married Richard Smith Spofford.

Sunday Morning, May 27th. All your friends are well. As the vessel will sail tomorrow, it is necessary this should go to-day, therefore, with the assurance of the most pure & unalienable attachment I conclude this long protracted epistle.

The children say I must send you their best love, & tell you they want to see you dreadfully. We heard from dear Ma yesterday, she is well & all the family. Pa & Margaret come tomorrow & Caroline returns on Tuesday.

Truly yours Anna

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The original of this letter is in the possession of a granddaughter, Madeline Reynolds, who also has the wedding dress of white muslin trimmed with narrow bands of satin, and the invitation in formal language written by William B. Reynolds asking Thomas Smith to be one of his groomsmen, and a well-thumbed cook book of the olden times, with directions for making plumb cake, Marlborough pudding, syllabub, hart's horn or calf's foot jelly, and "a pretty sort of Flummery."

The silhouettes and other material used for illustration have also been kindly loaned by Miss Reynolds for reproduction.

For any errors or inaccuracies in the introduction or notes James Duncan Phillips is responsible.

A PICTURE OF GLOUCESTER ABOUT 1800

BY ALFRED MANSFIELD BROOKS

I propose to draw a sketch of Gloucester about 1800, meaning between the end of the Revolution, 1783 and 1830, in which year "the great fire," and subsequent rebuilding, materially changed the appearance of the town. In fine, to depict the extensive island-township of Gloucester together with its mainland, the Second or West Parish; its numerous encircling hamlets scattered along the sixteen miles of Cape Ann shore-line; its heart, the Harbor Village.

Because of the fine, hill-girdled harbor Samuel de Champlain when he came, 1605, to what is now Gloucester called the place Beauport. Eighty years later John Dunton, an English traveller, wrote:

"We were now come to Gloucester, which is a pretty little town. Here it was that the Massachusetts Colony first set down, though Salem was the first town built in that Colony. Here is a very fine harbor for ships."

Dunton calls the town pretty and the harbor fine. This is probably the first time in print that Gloucester was described by that adjective. Because he refers to the town and the harbor in the same breath he unquestionably meant the hamlet or settlement known as the Harbor Village. This hamlet together with Fisherman's Field, now Stage Fort Park, where Roger Conant landed, 1620, and with his family, lived awhile in the "Great House" later moved to Salem—this water-side hamlet is to be distinguished from another hamlet a mile inland to the North where the first church was built, Church Green by name. It was here and not in the Harbor Village that the prosperity of Gloucester and its good houses centered down to the third quarter of the eighteenth century. Here, on Meeting House Green, still stands the leanto parsonage built

by Parson White at the beginning of 1700, now known as the Ellery house. It is a fine example of its type and day, a most significant memorial and a two hundred and fifty year old land mark. This house is soon to be destroyed or removed because it stands in the way of progress, directly athwart the new road, Route 128, where it is to enter the city. It is to be hoped that historic interest and civic pride will find some way to preserve this reminder of the planting of New England, to use an expression of the time, in which Gloucester had a very early share and which she has steadily advanced, in peace and war, through more than three hundred years of maritime preoccupation. In this the numerous, little hamlets of which Sandy Bay, now Rockport, and Annisquam were the chief, that were scattered along the sixteen-mile edge of Cape Ann, and the mainland Parish on the western side of Squam river all played their part.

One more bit of early description; this time from the Rev. William Bentley. He says, May 13, 1799 "we passed (from the Harbor Village) to Old Town (Church Green) which because of the change of place of business is neglected." Here from a point near the junction of Squam and Mill rivers Bentley continues:

"As Mill river runs towards the town there is a beautiful view up the river of the spires and houses as we approach the Town" meaning the Harbor Village.

Old Town where the farming was good, if it can be said that any farming on Cape Ann was ever good, lent the only considerable touch of pastoral landscape that the picture of Gloucester in 1800 possessed. All else, considered purely as landscape, is to be thought of as "rude and romantic scenery" to use the words of "The Essex Memorial," 1836, that quaint, delightful, old Essex County Baedeker. Into this landscape we must inject Champlain's beauty, "Beauport," 1605; Dunton's "pretty town," 1686; Bentley's "beautiful view of spires and houses," 1789, for it is so that I am composing my picture, the whole and the parts. Nor should it be forgotten that the leanto parsonage at Church Green, the "Ellery house," is an extant instance of one of Bentley's "houses" while it

must be remembered at the same time that venerable character and historic import are precious qualities of things and not necessarily the things themselves.

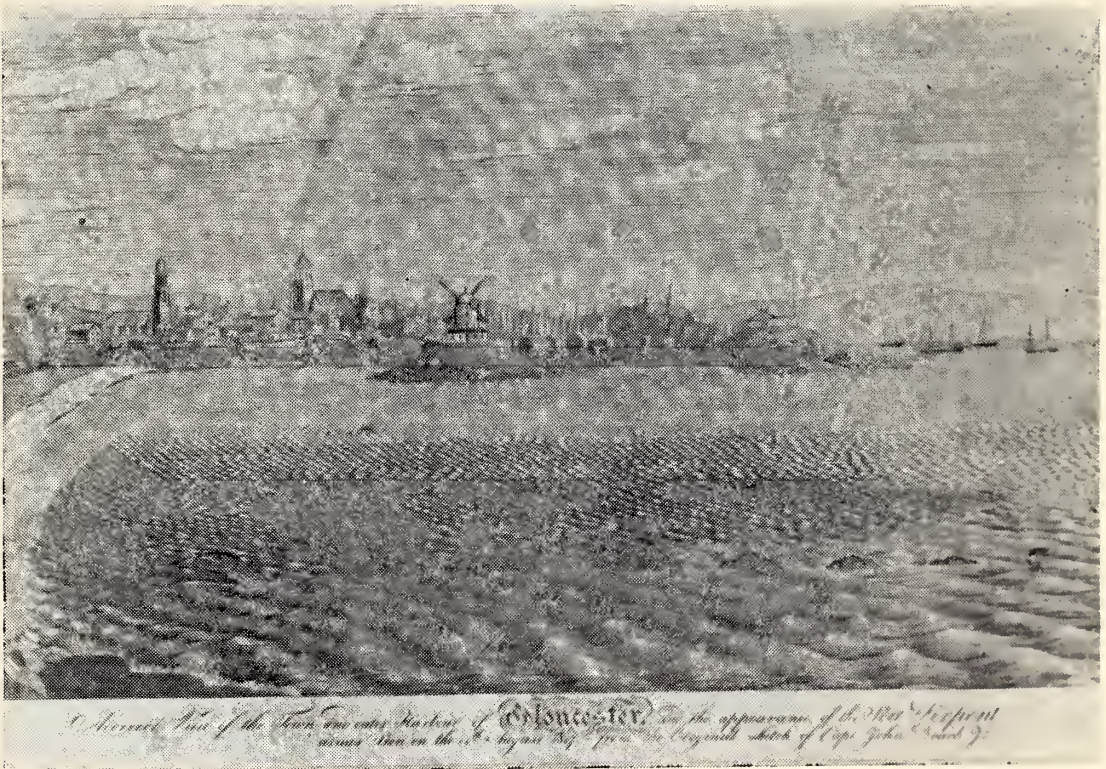
Gloucester "Outer Harbor," close to a mile wide at the mouth, lies in a south-westerly direction between the high, wooded mainland, the "Western Shore," and the long, low arm of Eastern Point which, now for the most part denuded, was wooded a hundred an fifty years ago. Behind Ten Pound Island more than three quarters of the way into the harbor the eastern and western margins suddenly draw together leaving a narrow strait, the "Stream," between two rocky headlands. This is the entry to the safe, landlocked "Inner Harbor" where, since 1750 or before, practically the entire maritime business of the town, fisheries and foreign commerce, has been centered. On the port side of a vessel coming through the "Stream" rose the steep promontory where, 1743, "the town naked to the enemy," a breast work was thrown up and eight twelve-pounders set. Hence the name Watch-house Neck. Here in 1794, covering both Outer and Inner Harbors and the "Stream" the United States Government built a real fort which now long gone, survives in the name of this part of Gloucester. In 1800 it was the most conspicuous object in any view of the town from the water. Behind this promontory, Watch-house Neck, and between it and the opposite promontory, Duncan's Point where, around a gigantic, illuminated oak, Gloucester celebrated the Peace of Paris on October 23, 1783, is the broad indentation, circled by hills, called Harbor Cove. It was along the shore and up the rugged slopes of this cove that the Harbor Village nestled and climbed during the prosperous middle decades of the eighteenth century.

The approach to the Harbor Village from the mainland followed as it does today, the line of the beach from the "Cut" or canal through which Squam River enters Gloucester Outer Harbor. A few houses backed by high ledges lined the way on the left. The long line of the Rope Walk followed the beach on the right. At the end of the road, now Stacy Boulevard, on a slight elevation stood a large wind-mill. It was the most conspicuous ob-

ject other than the graceful, Universalist steeple and the lofty spire of the First Parish Church in the view of the town as one sailed in between Eastern Point and the Western Shore. This, in words, was the look of Gloucester as Capt. John Beach drew it in 1817 as a setting for the Sea Serpent.¹

A very different view, and one almost unique, presented itself when, through the "Stream" and around Watch-house neck, you looked into the Harbor Cove, and up its irregular amphitheatre of hills on which the village stood. Roughly speaking the plan of this village, the bounds of which could be walked round in an hour, was wedge-shape as it spread outwards and upwards from the waterfront. Again, roughly speaking, as the hills receded they formed three well-defined laps. It was on these for the most part that the churches and houses were built and numerous gardens plotted along the three chief thoroughfares; Fore or Front Street, now Main, close to the water, Middle, laid out in 1728, on the second lap up, and Back, now Prospect on the third. Sparkling brooks ran down to the sea, and springs bubbled among the ledges. These kept the ground moist, in places swampy, which assured good gardens and orchards. Barring a real mountain background no site could be more Greek while few are nearly so much so. Further to warrant likening the Harbor Village of Gloucester to a sea-side Greek town I would remind the reader that its steep slopes were dotted, and its narrow, twisting streets were lined with houses, large and small, gleaming white among apple, pear and cherry trees, or shadowed by pines, oaks and elms. It was a pleasant sight in blossom time and an inspiring one in winter as the blue smoke of many a hearth curled upwards everywhere. Remember too that the scene was dominated by the lofty church towers on Middle Street—a Greek town would have been dominated by temple pediments—

1 For an account of the appearance of the Sea Serpent in Gloucester harbor at this time see Report of a Committee of the Linnæan Society of New England relative to a large marine animal. Supposed to be a Serpent seen near Cape Ann in August, 1817. Boston. Published by Cummings & Hilliard, No. 1. Cornhill. University Press. Hilliard & Metcalf 1817.



THE HARBOR OF GLOUCESTER SHOWING THE SEA SERPENT OF AUGUST 17, 1817

From the original sketch by Capt. John Beach, Jr.

and enlivened by the whirling sails of a wind-mill, high above everything else, on Back Street.

A more intimate sketch of the Harbor Village when you were really in it, is necessary to complete my picture. This view, like that of all towns, was concealed by its buildings as the proverbial wood is by the trees. Along the water-front there were wharves to and from which vessels were always coming and going. Their masts were the prime fact, and the true symbol of the Harbor Village in 1800. Its picture, or that of any town or city which does not embody the symbol in the fact, as the heart in the body, is not worth much. What would Wordsworth's famous picture of London amount to—the fact of “Ships, towers, domes, theatres and temples,” and “the very houses” that seemed “asleep” in the early morning—if the great artist had not in his final line called our attention to what was symbolic of the life of London, “And all that mighty heart is lying still.”

Behind the wharves of the Harbor Cove were drying yards with their fish flakes. Next came a strip of garden and then, along the water side of Front Street, substantial residences; four-square, Federal houses, and gambrels of prerevolutionary days. The same of the opposite or land side of this street. What the water side of it looked like about 1800 is memorialized in a unique model, cut scale and meticulously detailed, from the Town Landing to Duncan Street.²

Short cross streets led up the hill from Front to Middle Street along which, from 1740-50 on, wealthy citizens built numerous large and handsome houses. Also the churches. Other cross streets or lanes led up from Middle to Back Street. Within the irregular checker board of these streets the houses were dotted with scrupulous regard to making the most of winter sun, prevailing winds and “lie” of the ground for gardens and flowers, vegetable and small fruits. By garden I mean considerable areas artistically laid out with terraces, flights of steps, walls, pools and intricately patterned beds. Of such there

² See “The Essex Institute Historical Collections,” “The Gloucester Model.” Vol. LXXVI—January, 1940.

were at least sixteen within the Harbor Village.³ Of pretty dooryards there were many.

My group of sketches, distant views by land and sea, and "close-ups," based on fact and illumined by imagination warrant the opinion that Gloucester at the turn of the nineteenth century was a congeries of hamlet and village gathered about a central town possessed, for its size, of more than the usual number of fine houses set amidst unusual scenic beauty and "nature to advantage dres'd." The social significance of my composite picture of Gloucester in 1800 lies in the fact that many of its residents had attained competency and some, wealth, from their varied forms of sea-faring business. In Gloucester at this time there was much of the

"Retired leisure

That in trim gardens takes his pleasure."

³ See "The Essex Institute Historical Collections," "The Pearce-Parrott Garden in Gloucester," Vol. LXXX—July, 1944.

EARLY MARBLEHEAD TUCKERS

By W. HAMMOND BOWDEN

The late Mr. Edgar C. Felton in his manuscript genealogy now deposited in the library of the New England Historic and Genealogical Society includes some notes about early Tuckers at Marblehead. He concluded that the Andrew Tucker, Sr., whose stone on the Old Burial Hill at Marblehead records his death Dec. 12, 1691, aged 49 years, could not have been the man who administered the estate of Nicholas Tucker in 1664 because he would then have been a youth of 22. We know from the court records¹ that the administrator was the brother of the deceased and that he was charged to determine the proper heirs. We also know that the first inventory was found imperfect and returned by the court for correction.

If Nicholas Tucker were a man in middle age it is likely his heirs, even if he were unmarried and they were not, his children, would have been well known, and more likely still that there would have been other references to him in the records other than the bare notice of the settlement of his estate. Is it not more likely that he was a young man, of legal age but perhaps not over twenty-five, a fact which is reflected in the charge to determine the proper heirs? If the guess at his age is correct his birth would be 1639-1643 which would certainly indicate that the Andrew Tucker, Sr., who died in 1691 was his brother, the administrator of 1664 then a youth of 22, born in 1642.

Beside these his supposed brothers there were other Tuckers early at Marblehead. They were George and Roger, the first recorded there in December, 1647² and the second September, 1651.³ The first was fined for drunkenness and the second for living from his wife, both offenses that indicate grown men of a different generation from Nicholas and Andrew. George removed to Gloucester or at least was there April 30, 1652 and Roger re-

¹ Records and Files of the Quarterly Court, Vol. 3, pp. 191-220-263; Vol. 4, p. 44.

² Ibid, Vol. 1, pp. 134, 257.

³ Ibid, Vol. 1, p. 246.

moved to Salem where he died before April 28, 1661⁴ when his estate was administered by Mr. George Curwen. There was no mention of family, other children or the deserted wife.

Knowing that the early emigrants to New England often came in family groups, one is tempted to assume that George and Roger Tucker perhaps brothers, perhaps cousins, arrived at Marblehead with their wives. Perhaps Roger had a family and they perished in the hardships of a new world; perhaps he never had children. If Nicholas and Andrew were children of George they would have had to fend for themselves early with their uncle (?) dead and their father away. Under these circumstances it would be easy to see why Andrew, even though only 22, was chosen administrator; there was no one else in Marblehead.

Another circumstance which would tend to indicate that Andrew Tucker, the administrator of 1664, was a young man and the only one of the name left in Marblehead after the death of Nicholas is the absence of any reference in the Marblehead records. It is not until Oct. 7, 1674, ten years after the administration of Nicholas's estate that the name appears.⁵

A final piece of evidence pointing toward the same conclusion is the perpetuation of the names George and Nicholas through several generations of the descendants of Andrew Tucker Sr. His second⁶ son was Nicholas and his eldest grandsons were named Nicholas and George, and both names were preserved among his descendants for many generations.

It is only too evident how tentative must be any conclusions regarding the Tucker family at Marblehead. My guess (it can hardly be called otherwise) is that George was the father of Andrew Tucker Sr., and my hope is that these notes may afford some one else a starting point for a more successful investigation of the origins of the Tuckers at Marblehead.

4 Ibid, Vol. 1, p. 323.

5 Essex Institute Historical Collections, Vol. LXIX, p. 279.

6 He is presumed to be the second son; the order of births is unknown.



MARRIAGE ROOM, REV. BENJAMIN PRESCOTT HOUSE

Courtesy of Peabody Historical Society

HISTORY OF THE SOUTH CHURCH, PEABODY

FORMERLY IN THE MIDDLE PRECINCT OF SALEM,
LATER KNOWN AS THE SOUTH PARISH OF DANVERS

By BESSIE RAYMOND BUXTON

(Continued from Volume LXXXVII, page 207)

At the next parish meeting on June 24th, 1754, it was voted to accept Mr. Prescott's proposals, also that they would call and settle another minister "as soon as may be." On the 15th of July, 1754, they voted to call Mr. Aaron Putnam to be their minister and pay him eighty pounds, lawful money, as his salary, and for his settlement, one hundred and fifty pounds, lawfull money if he accepted the call. A committee was appointed to inform Mr. Putnam⁷ of these arrangements and request him to come "as soon as may be." But Mr. Putnam decided not to accept the call, and at the August parish meeting, another committee was appointed "to joyn with Mr. Prescott in the choice of 3 or 5 indifferent men To be by them mutually chosen, or to a Council that may be hereafter agreed upon & Chosen to ordain a pastor over us or otherwise as the sd Comittee & Mr. Prescott Shall agree To make finall Settlement of all matters & things Now in Controversy Which he Calls not yett adjusted: & that the committee, Daniel Epes Esq. Mr. Joseph Osborn, Mr. Nathan Proctor, Capt. John Procter, Mr. Jasper Needham, Mr. Daniel Marble & Lieut:t Samuel King Be & hereby fully authorized & Impowered, in & by or Either of the Ways above mentioned to make a full & final Settlement of the same & that the Inhab:t of sd Parish Will Stand & abide by the sd.Settlement that shall be by them so made And that the sd. Committee be Desired to proceed on the affair as soon as may be. John Epes, P. Clerk."

On March 18, 1755—"Voted To Give John Epes Twenty Shillings for past Services as Clerk. To Give John Procter Twenty Shillings for Serveing Treasurer

⁷ Rev. Aaron Putnam, b. Reading, 1733, son of Rev. Daniel Putnam; Harvard, 1752; died in Pomfret, Conn. 1813.

for the year Insuing or this present year. Voted To Give Lieut. Sam'll King twelve Shillings for his Service as Clark this insuing year or present year."

At a Leagal Meeting of the Inhabitants of ye South Parish in Danvers Dec. ye 1st, 1755. It being put to vote whither the Inhabitants Will act on the first claws in the warant to apply any part of ye money raised Last March to any pertickular use at this time & it past in ye Negative it being put to vote whither sd Inhabitants will rais money to repair the Meeting House at this time & it past in ye Negative it being put to vote whither ye Inhabitants Shall have Liberty to repair the Meeting House by a Subscription & it past in ye affirmative Voted that there be a New Com:te to Treat with the reverand Mr. Benj:a Prescott in the Room of Mrsr. Daniel Epes Esq., Mr. Joseph Osborn, Mr. Nathan Procter, Capt. John Procter, Mr. Jasper Needham, Mr. Daniel Marble, Lieut Sam:ll King Voted there be 5 men on ye above sd. Com:te Voted for a Com:te Gidian Foster, Mr. Jonathan Tarbell, Mr. Ebenezer Jacobs, Mr. Thomas Porter, Ens. Ezekiel Marsh be above Said Com:te

Sam'll King, Clark

The inhabitants would not impower this committee to make a final settlement with Mr. Prescott and another and larger committee was appointed on Jan. 19, 1756, "to make a Settlement with ye Rev:d Mr. Prescott of all matters & things now in Dispute between him and his Parish & when they have so done to Lay the same before the Inhabitants of sd. Parish for their acceptance & in Case ye sd. Inhab:ts do not accept of ye Settlement That then ye Com:te Shall be & are Hereby Impowered to agree with Mr. Prescott in ye Choyce of 3 or 5 Indifferant men to make a Settlement of the Same and that ye Determination or award of ye Major part of them Shall be a full & finall Determination of ye Settlement Between Mr. Prescott and said Parish of all Differances Between them and that ye Inha:ts of sd. Parish will Indamnify & Save Harmless The Said Com:te in their Transactions in ye above said Buisiness. Sam'll King, P. Clark"

March 15, 1756—Voted to raise one Hundred Pounds Law-

full money with what hath been already voted to make up the Deficiency of Mr. Prescotts Salery at ye same rate that ye Court of Gen'l Sessions Computed it att pr year Voted That ye Treasurer be paid Twentyfour Shillings for his Service this year Voted That ye Clerk be paid Sixteen Shillings for his Service this year Voted Thos Goldtwait be Saxton this year.

October 18, 1756—It being put To vote Whither the Inhabitants will give the Rev:d Mr. Benj:n Prescott £405 L.m. agreeable to the advice & Result of an Acclesiastical Council held in ye Parish, on the 20th of Sept: last Viz: One half of sd. £405 in six Months from the sd; 20th Day of Sep:r last & to Compleat the Remaining half part of sd Sum in 12 Months from the sd. 20th Day of Sept: last—Provided that the sd Mr. Prescott will Immediately ask a Dismission from his Pastorall office in sd. Parish of the Church & this Council & Likewise Give the sd Parish a full & finall Discharge from all Arrearages For all time past to this time—Past in ye Affirmative At the adjournment of the Meeting Octob:r 26th 1756 at the Meeting House Voted agreeable to the advice of sd Council, That the Rev:d Mr. Benj:n Prescott be & hereby is Excused for himself & with all the Land & Interest in this Parish, Now under his Immediate Improvement & while they are so, From all Parish Taxes Dureing his Naturall life—

Voted To raise Two Hundred & Twenty pounds Lawfull Money on the Polls & Estates of the Inhabitants of this Parish, to pay the Rev: Mr: Benj:m Prescott, & to Compleat the sd. sum of Four Hundred & five pounds Lawfull Money agreeable to the advice of Sd. Council & agreeable to the above sd. vote, Relateing to the payment of the Same, and the Overplus (if any be) To be to the use of the Parish.

Nov. 16, 1756—The Report of the Committee (Viz): Messieurs Malachi Felton, Jonathan Tarble, Ezekiel Marsh Jun:r, Gideon Forster, Ebenezer Jacobs & John Epes: Is as follows (Viz): that said Mr. Prescott will Take Bonds on Interest for the sum of £405; L.M. one half of sd sum in six Months from the 20th day of September Last & the other half of said sum in Twelve months from the sd. 20th of September last.

Voted—To secure the payment of £405 L.M. to the Rev: Mr. Benjamin Prescott by Bonds on Lawfull Interest untill

paid Viz: one Bond for the Half of sd. sum, from the 20th day of Septem: Last, sd. Bond to be payable in six months & the other Bond for the Remaining half of sd. sum To Bear Date on the 20th Day of September & to be payable in Twelve Months from the Date thereof. Provided that the sd. Mr: Prescott Does Immediately on the Executing sd. Bonds ask a Dismission of the Church in sd. Parish from his pastorall office & also give sd. Parish a full & final Discharge from all arrearages Dues & Demands for all Time past to this time.

Voted—that Mr. Samuel Felton, Daniel Epes Jun:r, Mr. Gideon Foster, Deacon Felton, Mr. Daniel Jacobs & Mr. Jonathan Kettle be Desired & Impowered, in the name & Behalf of sd: Parish, to Become bound & give Bonds to sd. Mr. Prescott on the Conditions Above mentioned & heretofore voted & that the Parish will Indemnify & save Harmless the sd. Mr. Samuel Felton, Mr. Daniel Epes Jun:r, Mr. Gideon Forster, Deacon Felton, Mr. Daniel Jacobs & Mr. Jonathan Kettle & that They & Each of them shall Hereby be Secured & Saved Harmless By the said Inhabitants from any fine, forfeiture Cost or Damage whatsoever, That may arise or Happen to them or Either of them by Reason of the Non payment of sd: Bonds according to the True Intent & meaning thereof.

John Epes, Clerk pro.tem.

Nov. 29, 1756. Voted—That ye Inha: will Provoid Preaching in sd Parish this winter Season as often as they Can conveniently procure a man or men Voted That there be a contribution till March next to pay ye man or men that be Employed to Preach the Gospel in sd Parish till next March meeting Ensuing & that each person mark the money he or She Shall Contribute & ye Deficiency to be made up (if any there be) out of ye Treasury and that ye parish Com:tee take account of ye Persons and the sums of money they Contribute & ye sums to be accounted to each person as so much paid towards the Support of ye Gospell, and to be accounted their tax for the Same of part thereof according to what they may be taxed for ye Purpose above said untill March next.

Voted—That the Charge of ye Late Councill convened in ye South Parish Sept. 1756 amounting to ye Sum of one Hundred and Eighteen Pounds fourteen Shillings and one peney be paid by a tax on the Inha: of sd. Parish. (This

sum, in the Old Tenor amounted to only fifteen pounds, six shillings and eight pence in Lawful Money).

After the dissolution of his pastoral relations, Mr. Prescott continued to reside in the parish in the home at 72 Central Street, which Sir William Pepperell built in 1750 for his sister, Mrs. Prescott. He published a "Letter to the First Church in Salem" in 1735; a sermon "Right Hand of Fellowship" delivered at the ordination of Rev. John Sparhawk at the First Church in Salem in 1736; and in 1768, at the age of 81, "A Free and calm consideration of the unhappy misunderstanding & debates between G. Britain and the American Colonies." He died "of a violent fever" May 28, 1777, in his 90th year and is buried in the little burial place on Tremont Street, on his own land, in company with his three wives, his children and grandchildren and their wives and husbands. The last burial there was in 1809.

PRESCOTT TOMB BURIALS.

TREMONT STREET, PEABODY, MASS.

Rev. Benjamin Prescott. d. May 27, 1777.

Elizabeth H. Prescott

d. March 20, 1723 First wife.

Mercy Gibbs Prescott

d. Dec. 18, 1744 Second wife.

Mary Pepperell Prescott

d. April 18, 1766 Third wife.

Benjamin Prescott, son of Benjamin &

Elizabeth

d. Aug. 18, 1778

Rebecca Minot, his wife

d. Oct. 8, 1761

John b. Aug. 2, 1718,

d. Aug. 3, 1718

Hannah Prescott, wife of

Capt. Daniel Eppes d. Sept. 18, 1769

Capt. Daniel Eppes d. 1780

Sarah Prescott, b. Jan. 29, 1723 d. May 12, 1723

Henry Prescott, son of Rev. Benjamin & Mercy Gibbs

Prescott, b. July 19, 1735

d. Jan. 19, 1736

Henry Gibbs, husband of Mercy Prescott, daughter of Benjamin & Rebecca, d. 1794, aged 45 years.

Mercy Prescott Gibbs, died 1809. She was the last to be buried in the tomb.

In the northwest corner of the lot lies the body of a negro woman, a slave in the household of Rev. Benjamin Prescott. It was the wish of Rev. Benjamin Prescott that any member of the South Church have burial rights outside the tomb.

BENJAMIN PRESCOTT'S WILL.

I, Benjamin Prescott of Danvers in the County of Essex in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, Esq. though weak in Body, yet through the great Goodness of God of sound mind and memory, Do for the Disposal and Settlement of what worldly Estate it hath pleased God graciously to give me, make and ordain my last Will and Testament in Form and Manner following, viz:

Imprimis, I will that about sixteen poles of Land, lying in Danvers aforesaid at the Southwesterly Corner of my Pasture commonly called the Hill, and where my Tomb is already built be set apart, and I do hereby set the same apart to lye forever for a burying Place for myself and Descendants & such others as they shall think fit to admit to bury their Dead there.

Item, I will that the Charges of a decent Funeral, and all my just Debts and all such Sums of money I stand bound for the Payment of as Surety for my son Benjamin be well paid and *dischar'd* by my Executors out of my Estate and I hereby empower my Executors to sell so much of my real Estate as they shall find necessary for said Purpose.

Item, I will and bequeath one Quarter Part of the Remainder of my Estate after said charges & Debts are paid, to my son Benjamin Prescott to be to him and his Heirs forever.

Item, I give and bequeath to my son Henry Prescott the one half of the sd. Remainder of my Estate, including all such pieces of Plate his Mother brought to me and such other Articles of Houshold Furniture his Mother brought to me as he shall choose to have to be to him and his Heirs forever, he paying or causing to be paid to my Dear Daughter in Law Mrs. Dorothy Clifford twenty pounds, which I here will and bequeath to her as a token of my Love.

Item, I give and bequeath to my thirteen grand children, the children of my dear Daughters Hannah & Elizabeth deceased, one quarter of said Remainder of my Estate to be equally divided between them, to be to them and their Heirs forever. And my Will is, that no account shall be taken or Consideration had, in the Settlement of my Estate, of what I advanced to my said two Daughters in their Life Time or to my said two sons.

Lastly, I hereby constitute and appoint my two sons Benjamin & Henry joint Executors of this my last Will and Testament. In Witness whereof, I set hereunto my Hand and Seal this 14th Day of September Anno Domini 1772.

Signed, sealed & declared to be his last Will and Testament by Benjamin Prescott Esqr. in presence of us.

Nathan Holt
Abel Osborne
Benj^a Foster

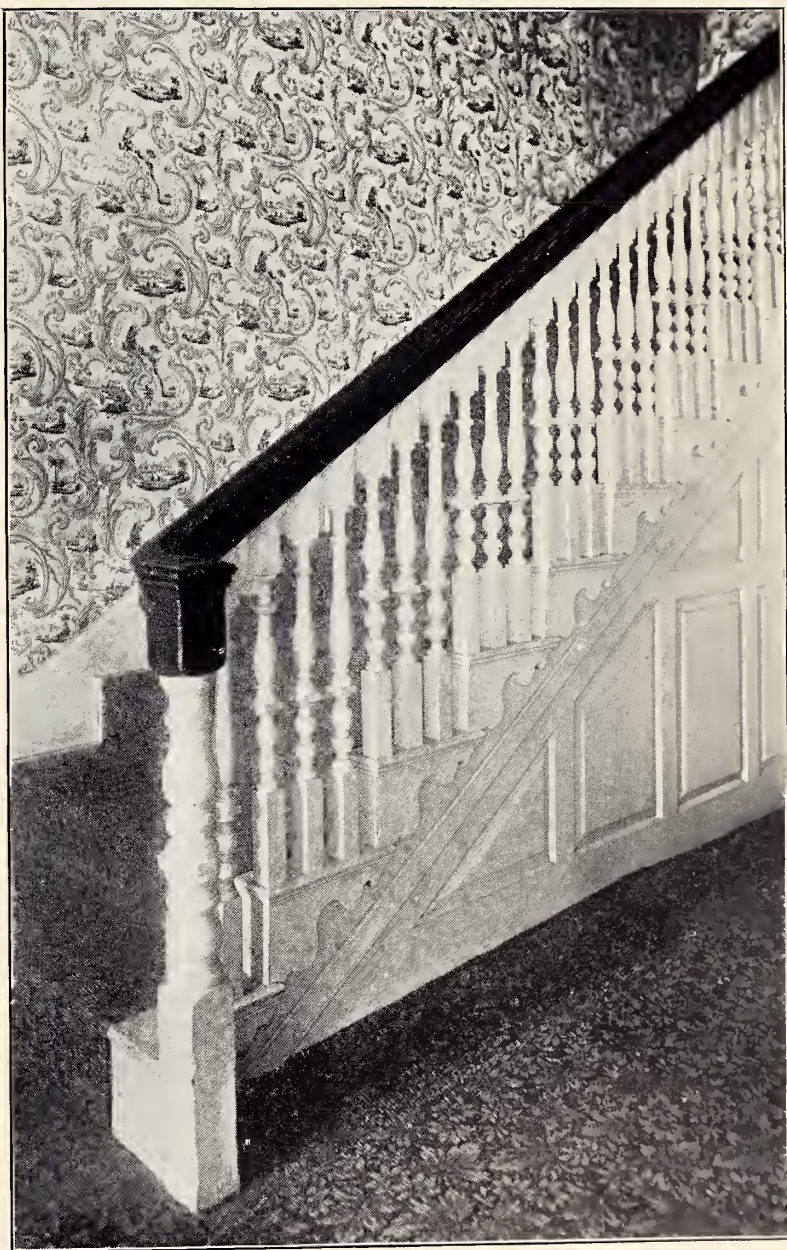
Benjamin Prescott.

INVENTORY

An Inventory of the Estate of Benjamin Prescott,, Esq. late of Danvers deceased, taken this 4th Day of June, 1777, by us the Subscribers (a Committee appointed for that Purpose by the Hon^{ble} Judge of Probate of Wills &c for the County of Essex) as shewn to us by the Executors to the last Will and Testament of said deceased.

Mansion House of the deceased with about 2½ acres of Land adjoining and other Buildings thereon.	£500- 0- 0
Gardner's House (so called) with about fifteen acres of Land adjoining and other Buildings thereon.	400- 0- 0
Hill Pasture & Mowing Land adjoining ab't 10 acres	110- 0- 0
South Side Pasture (so called) in Salem containing ab't 80 Acres	240- 0- 0
Burditt's & Shute's Bond Interest due from March 20th, 1777 for	74- 0- 0
Due on Phin. Wait's Note March 31st 1777 besides Interest from said Date	15- 2- 1
Eleazar Spaffords' do Ap'l 4th 1774 besides Interest from sd. Date	0- 3- 8
Malachi Felton's do. March 26th, 1764—besides Interest from sd. Date	6-16- 0

Note of Asa Vorse on Interest dated June 29th, 1776 for	12-10-
Alpheus Newton on Interest dated Feb'y 25th 1777 for	5-12- 4
Jon'a Russel jun'r on Interest Dated June 1st 1774 for	0-18-
Cash in Silver & Gold, £8.12.11. In Paper Cur- rency, 43.0.3.	51-13- 2
7 Gold Rings & 1 pr. do. Sleeve Buttons W't 16 pwt. 8 Gr.a 5/1	4. 3. 0
Plate including Shoe & knee Buckles W't 221 oz. a 71	77. 7-
1 Hat with a Case 36/ 1 old do. 6/. 2 Wiggs & 1 Box 20/	3. 2-
1 great Coat 24/ 1 Close do. 53/4d. 1 ditto 18/ Velvet jacket & Breeches 42/	6.17. 4
5 old garments 28/ 2 Waist coats 4/ best Gown 36/ 1 do. 10/	3.18-
1 Cloke 6/ 1 pr. new Shoes 9/. 1 Velvet Cap 5/. 2 pr. Gloves 1/	1. 1-
2 Linen Shirts 36/. 4 Cotton & Linen do. 42/. 2 ditto 10/ 6 Caps 3/	4.11-
1 Cam. & 2 silk Hank'fs. 12/. 2 Neck Cloths & 1 Stock 5/.	0-17-
1 pr. Silk Stockings 2/. 1 do. ribbed worsted do. 8/. 4 pr. black ditto 10/	1- 0- 0
3 pr. white yarn do. 6/6. 1 pr. Cotton & 1 pr. Tow 4/6	0-11- 0
Library	£30- 0- 6
1 Pew in Mr. Holt's Meeting House 180/	39- 0- 6
1 Horse £14- 4 Cows £26- 4 Sheep with their Lambs £6	46——
1 Swine 54/ old chaise & Harness 42/	42——
1 Plough 10/ 1 Spade 8/	5.14——
1 Iron Crow 10/ Horse Tackling 12/ old Cart & Wheels 20/ old Saddle 14/	2.16-
2 forks & 1 Hay Hook 4/ 1 Shovel 1/ 2 pr. Scales, W.ts & Lead 20/	1- 5-
Fetters 2/ 3 Hoes 3/ 1 Scythe 2/ pt. old Clock & Case 3/ 1 Ax 1/6	0-11- 6
Old Windows & broken Glass 11/ old Iron 30/ old Brass & Copper 12/	2-13——
Salt Fish 13/6. Salt 10/. Pork 26/ flour 25/ Sugar 60/	6-14- 6



REV. BENJAMIN PRESCOTT HOUSE
Front Entry

Courtesy of Peabody Historical Society

Rise 12/ Soap 20/ Potatoes 20/ 4 Calf Skins 16/	3- 8—
9 Bush. Indian 36/21½. 21½ do. Rye 12/6. 1 do.	
Malt 4/ Feathers 5/4	2-17-10
Cotton Wool 4/ 2 Barrels Cyder 36/ 1 Case with	
10 Bottles & 2 Q'tts oil 12/	2-12—
9 Cyder Barrels 18/3. Meat ditto 6/. 4 Whole	
14/ 1 Beer cag 1/	1-19—
dry Casks 18/ old Boxes 4/ Cheese press, Tub,	
Churn & Tongs 8/.	1-10—
1 Silver Watch 48/ 1 pr. Spectacles 3/. 2 Razors	
& Sope 3/6	2-14- 6
1 Velvet Brush 1/. Money Scales & Weights 6/.	
Box & Wafers 1/	0- 8—
Tobacco Box & Tongs 5/. Gunters Scale 3/6.	
1 Matz.o print glass'd 4/	0-12- 6
Ink pot, Jug & brass pen 2/ Pocket Book, Purse	
& Tobacco Box 4/	0- 6—
1 Small Trunk 5/. 1 Ivory Book 2/4. 3 pr.	
White Gloves 1/4.	0- 8- 8
1 Walnut Desk 60/. 1 Ditto Table 24/. 1 small	
do. 8/ 1 maple ditto 8/	5—
1 Looking Glass 70/. 1 arm'd & 9 Leather Chairs	
50/	6—
1 Case with 5 Bottles 7/ 1 Looking Glass 80/	
1 large Walnut Table 36/.	6- 3—
<hr/>	
	£1718.16. 7
10 Caneback Chairs 80/ 1 Japan Tea Table 7/	4. 7. 6
8 Maps 12/ 3 Waiters 4/6. 1 Japan cooler 6/.	
2 ditto bowls 1/.	1- 3- 6
brass Handirons with Iron Shovel & Tongs 12/	
small do. Tongs sh. 15/.	1. 7—
brass Handirons, fire cover, Shovel & Tongs 40/.	
Iron Sh. Tongs &	2. 0. 0
Handirons with brass knobs 8/. brass Handirons	
10/. 1 Gl'd Lantern 7/.	1. 5—
1 Looking Glass 20/ 1 Japann'd Stand 2/. 1	
arm'd, 1 round about & 7 Slat back chairs with	
3 Cushions 30/. 1 large Case w'th 11 Bottles	
60/	4.10—
68½ Wt. best Pewter 91/4. 50 Wt. old ditto 50/	7. 1. 4
1 close Stool pan 2/6. 1 Wooden Mortar 2/. 1	
Copper dripping pan 8/.	0.12. 6

I do. Fish Kettle 10/. Tea Kettle 1/6.2 Iron ditto 7/6.	0.19.-
1 Bell Metal Pot 8/. 2 Iron ditto 10/. 1 Copper Kettle 30/	2. 8—
2 brass ditto 28/. 1 Coffee Mill 3/. 1 Spider 8 d. 2 flat Irons 6/.	1.17. 8
1 large Bell Metal Skillet 10/. 2 old do. 2/. 1 brass Mortar 2/	0.14.-
2 Ironing Boxes, 2 Heaters & 1 Grate 6/. 1 Iron dripping Pan 2/	0.18.-
1 frying Pan 6/. 1 Gridiron 3/. 2 Spits 5/6. Toast'g Iron 4/.	0.18. 6
1 fender 1/6. 1 pr. large Handirons 12/. 1 pr. small ditto 3/6.	0.17.-
3 Trammels 12/. fire Slice & Tongs 4/. 8 brass Candlesticks 20/.	1.16-
Snuffers & Stand 2/. Shaving Bason & Chaffing Dish 3/.	0. 5-
1 Warming Pan 7/. old brass Bellows 2/. 1 Coffee Pot 2/.	0.11-
1 Jack 4/. 1 Hand ditto 8 d. 1 Bell 1/6. brass Ladle & Skimmers 4/.	0.10. 2
1 Hone 1/6. 4 files 1/6. 4 Table Rims 1/6. 1 Whetstone 2/.	0. 6. 6
1 small Iron Skillet 1/6. Knives & Forks with the Basket 10/.	0.11. 6
Wool carder 1/. brass Hand Bason 3/. 5 Buckets 6/.	0.10-
26 Tart & 23 Cake Pans 6/. 1 Spice Canister 2/. 3 Tea ditto 3/.	0.11-
Fily(?) & Skewers 2/. 2 Stone Juggs & do. Pickle Pots 10/. flour Box 6d,	0.12. 6
Tin Coffee Pot 1/6. knot Bowl & Mortar 1/6. 9 Chairs 12/.	0.15-
Boxes & knife case 1/4. large Wooden Table 4/. Smaller ditto 1/.	0. 6. 4
2 pr. Steelyards 12/. Table and other Brushes 1/6. Candle Moulds 2/.	0.15. 6
2 Large Trunks 6/. 2 old ditto 2/. 1 easy chair 10/. meal Baggs 4/.	1. 2.-
1 Woollen Wheel 5/. 1 Linen ditto 4/. Clock Reel 1/. 2 pr. Wool Cards 8/.	0.18—
1 old arm'd & 6 Caneback chairs 12/. Chest of Draws in Pieses 3/.	0.15.-



STUDY OF REV. BENJAMIN PRESCOTT

Courtesy of Peabody Historical Society

2 Meal Chests 5/. a bread Trough & Tray 2/.	
1 Looking Glass 8/.	0.15.-
old Turkey Chairs 10/. old chest with Draws 8/.	
Table 5/.	1. 3.-
Tin Candle Box 10d. 1 pr. Curtain Rods, Rails & other odd ones 6/.	0. 6.10
1 Looking Glass 80/. curl'd maple Table & Case of Drawers 80/.	8. 0- 0
8 China Chairs 72/. 1 Trunk 4/. 5 Pictures & 2 Sconces 20/.	4.16. 0
Red China Bed 60/. green Camblet do. 30/. 1 Looking Glass 3/.	4.13.-
Table & Case with Drawers 22/. 1 Desk 36/. 1 Trunk 3/4	3. 1. 4
2 Delph Bowls 3/. 1 China ditto 3/. 1 small ditto 1/6.	0. 7. 6
4 crack'd ditto 3/. 1 scollop ditto 2/. 1 puzzling Mug. 1/.	0. 6.-
4 flower Pots 1/6. 1 China do. 1/6. 2 Sugar bowls 2/.	0. 5—
Candle cup & Ladle 1/3. 3 Butter Saucers 2/8. Cream pot 9 d.	0. 4. 8
12 burnt China Cups & Saucers & Teapot 4/.	
Cups & Saucers 6/.	0.10-
<hr/>	
	£1785.10.11
4 Gallipots 1/4. 2 small Pickle Pots 1/6. 6 Tart Pans 2/.	0. 4.10
2 Stone Tea Pots 6 d. 1 do. Strainer, Bowl, cups & Saucers 11 d.	0. 1. 5
1 pr. ditto Batter Cups 1/8. 6 Cream colour'd Dishes 16/. 9 do. Plates 6/.	1. 3. 8
1 ditto Teapot 15 d. 1 pr. delph Porringers 1/.	
3 delph Dishes crack'd 1/.	0. 3. 3.
1 pr. ditto pudding Dishes 2/. 1 delph ditto 1/.	
Sallet do. 8 d.	0. 3. 8
6 ditto Plates 2/. 9 join'd ditto 1/6. 1 pr. burnt China pudding Dishes 16/.	2.14-
1 doz. do. Plates 36/. 1 blue & white China pud- ding Dish 2/. 13 ditto Plates 16/.	2.14.-
7 Decanters 14/. 1 pr. Vinegar Crewets 1/. 1 pr. Salts 1/.	0.16-
1 pr. blue glass Muggs 1/. 1 beer & 6 wine Glasses 7/. 16 Jellies & 2 Stands 7/.	0.15-

5 Tumblers & 1 Canister 4/ 6 Pipes 1/ 3 Baskets & Conts. 3/	0. 8-
42 Glass Bottles 6/. 2 Milk pans 5/ 2 large ear. Pots 10d	0.11-10
1 feather Bed, Bolster & Pillows, Wt. 60 tt. 60/ Bedstead 24/	4. 4—
1 do. Bed & Bolster, Wt. 52 tt. 43/4. L do. Bed, Bolster & pillows, Wt. 59 tt. 59/	5. 2- 4
1 Bedstead 14/. 1 Down Bed, Bolster & Pillows, Wt. 73 tt. 168/	9—
1 Bedstead 26/ 1 carpet 8/ Green Quilt 36/ red ditto 30/	5—
dark ditto 30/ silk do. 30/ old Callico ditto 6/. homespun Coverlet 14/	4—
red Rug 48/ white do 36/ best Blanket 18/ 1 pr homes. do. 24/	6- 6—
1 pr. Bilboa do 16/ 1 pr. odd do. 24/ 3 odd do. 18/ Ironing cloths 1/6	2.19- 6
3 pr. new Cott. & Linen Sheets 90/ 4 pr. old ditto 40/ 1 pr. Cott, ditto 10/	7—
2 pr. tow ditto 12/. 5 Cott & Lin. Bolster Cases 20/	1.13-
2 pr. new ditto pillow biers 12/. 1 pr. Holland sheets 60/	3.12-
3 single ditto 36/ 1 pr. Dowlass ditto 24/ 1 pr/ Holland Bolster Cas.	3- 3—
2 pr. ditto Pillowbiers 14/ 3 ditto single 6/ 4 old ditto 2/	1- 2—
1 large Damask Table Cloth 36/ 1 small ditto 12/	2- 8—
1 large Diaper ditto 16/ 1 old do. 8/ 1 large Huckabuck ditto 20/	2- 4—
2 small diaper ditto 16/ 2 old Bird Eye ditto 8/ 3 old Homespun diaper ditto 15/ 2 new do. 16/ 3 small ditto 12/	1- 4—
3 old do. 8/ 1 old Linen do. 2/6. 2 old Diaper do. 5/	2- 3—
6 Homespun diaper Towels 7/ 8 old do. 3/ Chimney Cloth 2/	0-15- 6
10 Linen Napkins 16/ 6 damask do. 18/	0-12—
6 Diaper Tea Cloths 3/ 2 old Diaper Napkins 2/ 6 damask ditto 24/	1-14—
12 diaper ditto 18/. 1 do. Towel 1/6. 6 Linen do. 8/. 1 Volder 1/6,	1- 9—
	1- 9—

About 1200 Acres of Land in New Salem by Estimation (not having seen it)	480. 0. 0
A Tract of 800 Acres on the East side of Sawco River adjoining to Brownfield, by Estimation (not having seen the Land)	200. 0. 0
One 30 Acre Right in Dunstable Value at present unknown	<hr/>
	£2546.15.11

Lands in Townsend, Lunenburg, Leominster & Rutland Quantity & Value at present unknown.	<hr/>
One Ticket in the United States Lottery	<hr/>
An Interest of 20 dollars in do. in Partnership with others	<hr/>
One Negro Girl which from Principle we set no Value upon	<hr/>
Benja. Prescott	
Henry Prescott Ex'rs,	

John Epes
Henry Gibbs
Sylvester Procter

Thus ended the unfortunate pastorate of Mr. Prescott which caused much bitterness in the parish and has echoed across the centuries, passed down by word of mouth, even to the present day.

THE PARSON PRESCOTT HOUSE

The School and Minister's lot was on Gape Lane, now, 62-72 Central Street. From 1636 to 1638 different grants of five, ten, twenty, thirty and forty acres were given to Robert and John Pease. In 1644, Margaret Pease's will mentions her sons, Robert and John, and the same year, in settlement of Robert Pease's estate, his wife Maria and their sons Robert and John are mentioned. About 1658, three quarters of an acre is reserved for Robert Pease, on his marriage to Sara. This three quarters of an acre is confirmed to Robert as long as he lives in Salem. In 1692, Sara, wife of Robert Pease, weaver, was arrested and put in Salem Goale for witchcraft. But the delusion was nearly at an end, and she was not executed. In 1705 Robert made over all his property to his son Isaac, and Sara signed away her dower. Isaac, on Feb. 29, 1711,

sold this homestead and land to Capt. John Gardner. The next year, on March 27th, Capt. Gardner sold "the old Robert Pease house" for a schoolhouse, to Abel Gardner, John Gardner, Robert Wilson, John Osborne, Samuel Cook, Samuel Cook, Jr., William Osborne, Jr., Henry Cook, Jacob Reed, Joseph Buxton and Samuel Osborne. Here, Katherine Daland taught school two or three years. In 1739, the town voted to build a new schoolhouse here. About 1840 this schoolhouse was removed to Winter Street, where it may now (1911) be seen, and a new one was built, which in 1857 was divided, one half remodelled into a dwelling house at 62, the other removed to 16 Tremont Street, where it still stands. The Bowditch School was then built.

In 1713, on May 21st, Capt. John Gardner sold to Rev. Benj. Prescott one half an acre which he bought of Isaac Pease the year before, the northern part of the schoolhouse lot. On April 4th, 1715, Mr. Prescott received a Cottage Right for his house, built in or before 1714, probably at what is now 64 Central Street. In 1733, on Jan. 24th, Rev. Benj. Prescott bought of Mr. Samuel Gardner "the Hill Pasture" directly across the street from his home, a part of which he set aside for a burial place.

After his marriage to the sister of Sir William Pepperell, the latter built for him the house at 72 Central Street (next to the smaller house where he had lived with his first two wives, and where his children were born.) It was a large house of fifteen rooms, with a gambrel roof and much fine panelling and carving. The Parson died on May 28th, 1777, and his son Benjamin died one year later, to a day. His son Henry, his executor, sold "the Mansion House" April 22, 1782, to John Moriarty, with two acres and eighty poles of land. Moriarty was a merchant, a flamboyant type, and is remembered chiefly for his exploit of riding his favorite horse, for a boast, starting far down in the fields, through the back door and great entry, out the front door and up the opposite hill at top speed. But the following year, he mortgaged the western and northern part of the house and garden to

Phineas Smith, and two years later, July 28, 1785, he mortgaged the eastern and northern parts to James Annis and the southern part to Samuel Phippen. On Sept. 17, 1787, Phineas Smith sold his part of the northern half to James Annis, and Annis sold the northern half to Jonathan Osborne, on Aug. 7, 1790. In 1805, Samuel Phippen's widow and daughter sold the southern half to Jonas Stevens, and in 1812, Stevens sold it to Daniel Frye. In June, 1815, Joshua Buxton bought the southern half from Daniel Frye's heirs, when he married Mary Pope, of Salem, and here their three children were born. When he died in 1881, at the age of 96, the old house became the property of his daughter Mary Jane, and in 1893, she bought the northern half from Mrs. Nancy Jane (Ward) Moulton, granddaughter of Jonathan Osborne. At Mary Jane's death, the house was sold, and most unfortunately was destroyed by fire soon after that, and the Prescott Apartments built on its site.

REBECCA PRESCOTT'S STORY

Some of Parson Prescott's descendants inherited his brilliant mind, notably his granddaughter Rebecca, daughter of Benjamin Prescott, Jr., and Rebecca Minot. Rebecca Prescott was born in 1742, probably in the parsonage on Gap Lane (Central Street). Little is known of her until she was seventeen, when tradition tells us she started on horseback one morning to visit her aunt, wife of Rev. Josiah Sherman of Woburn. As she arrived, her uncle's brother, Roger Sherman of Connecticut, was just starting back to New Haven. Rebecca was a beauty and a fine horsewoman, and Roger Sherman promptly changed his mind about going home. Although he was a plain man, a widower, more than twice her age, his courtship prospered, and they were married in the Prescott mansion, May 12, 1763, by her grandfather, the Rev. Benjamin Prescott, then seventy-six years of age.

Roger Sherman was the only man to sign the four great documents of our country—The Declaration of Rights in 1774, The Declaration of Independence in 1776, The Articles of Confederation in 1777 and the Constitution of the United States in 1789.

Rebecca Sherman went to Connecticut to live, but much of her life was spent in Philadelphia. When Gen. Washington ordered the new American flag made by Betsy Ross, Rebecca was privileged to sew some of the stars in place, and later she made the first flag ever made in the State of Connecticut.

The Shermans were in Philadelphia when independence was declared, and Gen. Washington gave a dinner to the political leaders and their wives. Rebecca was then thirty-four and a very beautiful woman. She wore a green moire antique dress at this dinner, and Gen. Washington, always appreciative of feminine beauty, took her out to dinner, thus making her guest of honor. This aroused the envy and jealousy of Mrs. Hancock, who afterwards said that she was entitled to that distinction. Inevitably Gen. Washington heard of this remark and resented it, saying "Whatever may be Mrs. Hancock's sentiments in the matter, I had the honor of escorting the handsomest lady in the room."

One of Rebecca Sherman's daughters became the mother of Roger Sherman Baldwin, Governor of Connecticut and United States Senator; another, the mother of Hon. Wm. M. Evarts. A third daughter was the mother of United States Senator George Frisbie Hoar, who came several times to the old Prescott Mansion to stand in the room where his grandmother was married, and in the little room where his great-grandfather wrote his sermons and essays.

Evidently it was becoming more difficult to collect the church rates for in 1757 the warrant again contains the threat to "sell at an outcry," and this continued until 1786. The "wid:o Mary Goldthwaite was chosen to sweep the meeting house this year, although Joseph Stacy was to be Saxton." He continued in this office until 1778.

The condition of the meetinghouse now began to give concern. It was even "put to vote whither the Inhabitants will remove the meeting house, & it past in ye negative." A committee was appointed to "view ye Meetinghouse & report what is Needful or Nessary to be done toward repairing ye Same & to make report Have met &

considered the same & are of oppinion to Clabord ye East End with New Clabords & to Glaize ye Same with Sash Glass also to Glaize the Front or South side with Sash Glass and Likwise to Shingle ye Roof with New Shingles & that ye Dementions of the Glass be 7 inches by 9." A little later, notice was given "that ye Com:tee for repairing the MeetingHouse purposes to Begin sd woork on Monday Next the 26th Day of Sept. Instant if the weather permit where any of ye Inh:ts who Can Lay Shingles may Come & work (if they See Cause) and they will be allowed reasonable wages to be paid out of the Next Tax raised & also if any of sd Inha:s will find Good Shingle Nails they will be allowed ye Comon Cash price for them to be paid as aforesd. Ye sd Inha:ts to find them Selves provision &ct. while they work. Pr. order of ye Com'te.

Sam'll King, P. Clerk."

Feb. 27, 1758—then given Jos. Osborn Jr. an order for 2000 of Shingels for the meeting House 1-6-8

May 22, Given Benj:a Dealand an order for mending the tarrot and hanging the Bell 25/ & finding an New Exeltree to ye wheel 3-7-4.

Dec. 1757—Benjamin Dealand Dr. to 12 Squares of Sash Glass Dementions of 8 by 10 and 4 feet of ye old Glass and $\frac{1}{4}$ of a Thousand of the Shingels bought of Jon:a Kettle. Thos: Giles, Dr. to 4 feet of ye old Glass.

This year the church began paying its officers, the Treasurer being paid 24 shillings and the Clerk sixteen shillings. An agreement was made "with Benj:a Dealand to mend ye Turrat of ye Meeting House & hang ye Bell & bring all the Timber Stuff to Do ye Same & yt sd. Dealand to have 25 shillings L.M. for his reward." In these early days, the bell was of great importance, as it was the only means of calling people together or sounding an alarm for fire.

The matter of securing a minister to succeed Mr. Prescott was now considered and on Sept. 27, 1757, a meeting was held at the house of Daniel Epes, Jr., to which Parson Barnard of Salem was invited. It was voted to choose Mr. Josiah Stearns and on Oct. 10th, 1757, "It

being put to vote whither ye Parish will Concur with ye Vote of the Church In the Choyce of Mr. Josiah Sterns⁸ to Settle with them in the woork of the Gospel Ministry & itt past in ye affarmitive. Voted Mr. Josiah Sterns Eighty Pounds Lawfull Mony pr year as his Salery During the time he Continues with us to be our Minister Provided he accept our Call. Voted to Provide a Parsonage for Mr. Josiah Sterns (Viz) a Convenient Dwelling House & Barn & Land Enough to keep two Cows & one Horse, Winter & Summer Provided he Except our Call and keep the Same in Good repair. Voted That ye Parish Com:t be Desired to wait on Mr. Sterns with a Coppy of our Votes and to Desire his Answer thereupon."

On Dec. 26, 1757, the records contain Mr. Stearns' answer: "To the Com:tee Chosen by the South Parish in Danvers to inform me of ye Votes of sd Parish respecting my Settling with them in the Ministry & to receive my answer I give in this to be Communicated (Viz) That I don't think that the Parish offers would be a Sufficient Support especialy in Case it should happen in Providence that my Family Should be much encreased I therefore make the following Proposals to the Parish.

1. that you provide me my firewood over & above what you have alredy offered (viz) 20 Cord att my Door &
2. that you either add 6:13:4 to my yearly Salery or Give me £66:13:4 by way of Settlement which you please.

In case the Parish Shall unanimously Comply with these Proposals it is Likely I Shall Settle with you.

Josiah Stearns.

A True Copy by S. King, P. Clerk."

Att A Leagal Meeting of ye Inha: of ye South Parish in Danvers on the 26th day of Decr: 1757.

1. It being put to Vote whither ye Inha: will make any further additions to ye offers already made to Mr. Josiah Stearns in order to his Setling with them in the Gospell ministry and itt past in the Negative.

8 Rev. Josiah Stearns, b. Billerica, 1731, son of John and Esther (Johnson), settled in Epping, N. H., 1758; d. there 1788.

2. It being put to Vote whither the Inha: Will Make any other offers to Mr. Josiah Stearns in order to his Setling with them in the Gospell ministry & it past in the Negative. Feb. 14, 1758. These are to Notify the Inha: of ye South Parish in Danvers that have woorked on the MeetingHouse last fall or found any Stuff or Nails towards the Repairs of sd House are Desired to bring in their accompts to the Com'tee on fryday ye 24th Instant who have appointed to meet on sd Day att the House of Mr. Benja: Prescott Jr: Inholder at Nine of ye Clock in the forenoon. Pr order of the Com:tee.

Sam'll King, P. Clark.

The committee now began negotiations with the Rev. Nathan Holt.⁹

Att a Meeting of the Church in the South Parish in Danvers August ye 4th 1758 att the House of Mr. Joseph Osborne in Said Parish—It being Put to Vote whither the Church will now Give Mr. Nathan Holt a Call to Settle with them in the Gospell Ministry in Said Parish; presen of the Church that were Yeas

those persons of the Church
on this hand Did not Vote
anyway & the reason they
Gave were they hade a mind
to hear further——

Sam'll Felton
Dea. Mala: Felton
James Goold

Daniel Epes Esq:r
Ezek. Goldthwait
John Felton
John Jacobs
Sam'll King
Dea. Cornelius Cutler
Ezek. Marsh Junr:
Daniel Epes Junr: Esq:r
Nathan Taylor
Zech: King

This is to Notify the Inha: of the South Parish in Danvers that they assemble together att the MeetingHouse in sd Parish on Monday the 14th Day of this Instant August att four of the Clock afternoon to See if ye Inha: will Concur the vote of ye Church in said Parish in Calling Mr. Nathan Holt to Settle with them in the Gospel ministry—Also to Consider what Salery they will Give the sd. Mr. Holt and what Settelment Provoided he will Settle in Said Parish or to act and Do otherwise as the Inha: Shall then think

9 Mr. Holt was born in Andover, Feb. 28, 1725; married Sarah, daughter of George Abbot, Aug. 4, 1757, who died Dec. 26, 1797; he died in Danvers, Aug. 2, 1792.

best relateing to Said Affairs———Danvers August ye 5th 1757 Pr. order of ye Com:tee. Sam'll King, P. Clerk.
N.B. the Inha: are Desired to Attend the Meeting att the above sd time and place.

And at the meeting on August 14th, "it Being put to Vote whither the Inha: will Concur the Vote of ye Church in Calling Mr. Nathan Holt to the Work of ye Ministry among them and it past in the afirmative, by 57 Votes, against 6—Voted to Give Mr. Nathan Holt Eighty Pounds L.M. per year for his Salery Dureing ye time he remains our Minister provided he will Settle with us in ye Gospell Ministry. Voted to Give Mr. Nathan Holt 150 pounds L. m. as a Settlement to be paid him in three Years, Fifty pounds annually provided he Settle with us in the Ministry & a Covenant House & A Gardding Spot & Barn room to keep a Horse & a Cow un till the mony voted him for his Settlement is paid.

Nov. 27, 1758. Voted that the ordination [of Mr. Holt] be the third day of Jan:r next. Voted that Mr. Holts Sallery be paid the one half in Six months after he Gave his answer & the other half at ye End of Twelve months from that Time it being put to vote whither ye Inha: will pay Mr. Holts Settlement all now and it past in the Negative. Voted That the Parish Com:tee be Impowered to provide a House &ct. for Mr. Holt agreeable to their former vote till his Settlement be paid. Voted to Chuse a Com:tee of nine persons to provide Sutable Entertainment for the Counsel Ministers & Scollers on the Ordination Day at ye Charge of ye Parish. The Com:tee Chosen were ye Parish Com:tee with the addition of Dea. Cornelius Cutler, Dea. Mallachi Felton, Mr. Nathan Proctor & Mr. Daniel Jacobs."

Extract from a journal¹⁰ of Samuel Gardner, 1759, about the ordination of Rev. Mr. Holt. Deacon Pickering (of Salem) was the father of Hon. Timothy Pickering. Both men were celebrated for firmness and decision of character.

"Jan. 3rd. Mr. Holt was ordained Pastor over the Sec-

ond Church in Danvers. The persons that assisted at the ordination were Mr. Barnard, who began with prayer, Mr. Phillips preached, Mr. Clark gave the charge, Mr. John Chandler made the last prayer, Mr. James Chandler gave the Right Hand of Fellowship, and the whole was conducted with great decorum and good entertainment was made for scholars. Deacon Pickering sent a letter to the Council, and it was voted it should not be read; he was there himself, but they would not admit him into the Council. N.B. Mr. Holt voluntarily gave in a Confession of his Faith. About a dozen of scholars there. Mr. Phillips' text was in Proverbs, 11th chap. ye latter part of the 30th verse."

On March 20, 1759. "Voted—Ye Widow Mary Goldthwait to take Care to Ring ye Bell and Sweep the Meeting House this year. Voted—to Pay the whole of ye Money this year by way of tax on the Poles & Estates of this parish, which the Parrish voted ye Rev:r Nathan Holt for his Settelment. Voted to Continue the Contribution this year as they Did ye Last and for each man to paper his mony & write his name on it." This contribution was taken yearly from 1761-1775, and varied from five to eleven pounds.

March 5th, 1760. "Voted to Give the Collectors four pence per pound as a premem if they make up their Collection by the first Day of Jan: 1761 or else to Give sd. Collectors nothing at all for Collecting this year. Voted to Give the Clerk ten shillings & ye Treas:r eight Shillings for their service this year. Mary Golthwait to ring ye Bell & Sweep the meeting house."

In February, 1761, we find evidence of the beginning of a church choir, for the Inhabitants were asked "if they will Errect a Seet in any Convenient place for a Number to Sett in to Assist ye Deacon in Carrying on the Exercise of Tuning ye Psalm." Nothing was done about it at this time, but in 1763, Samuel Jenison, W. Pool and others petitioned for "a seet or Seats in Some part of ye Meeting House to Carry on the Divine Exercise of Singing." And the parish "Voted That there be two Seets on the Easterly Side of ye broad ally in ye Meetinghouse Sett

apart for a Number of persons to Sett in for the better accomidating Singing in ye Meetinghouse and that the Same be under the regulation of the Parish Com:tee from time to time as there Shall be acasion for Carrying on that part of Divine Service and ye Parish Com:tee are Desired to fix up and Make said Seets Covenant for that purpose as Soon as may be."

The annual list of polls shows the growth of the church and parish and in 1761, there had been so many applications for seats that the inhabitants were asked if they will "Inlarge ye room in the meetingHouse by Building a new Gallary or any part of one Also to see if they will Consider ye Petetion of Mr. Jasper Needham & Mr. Gideon Foster that was Preferred att ye Last anual Meeting for a Covenant Place to Build them Pews or in the hindermost Seets on the Women's Seets Below Also to see if they will Grant ye Petetion of Sam'll Shillaber & others to Build a Seet over the mens Stairs for a Number to Sett in?" But these questions were not acted on at this time.

On March 27th, 1761, "the Com'tt of the South Parish in Danvers met and Bounded out half an acre of Land Granted by the Town of Salem to the Middle Parish in Said Town in ye year 1715. We Began at a Stak & Small Stones four poles & Six Links Westerly from ye Southwest Corner of James Upton's House & run North thirty-four Degrees—past Eight poles back & the Line as it run was one pole & Three Links Westerly a Gainst the Northwesterly Corner of sd Upton's Barn then run ten poles on ye Front & tenn poles in the rear & Eight poles Back all Bounded With Four Stakes & Stones about them. By the Com:tee.

Jasper Needham
John Epes
Sam'll King."

Eben:z Jacobs
Nathaniel Felton

Trouble was developing over the boundary line between the South Parish and the North Parish and an attempt was made to "Joyn with the Inha: of the North Parish to Petetion The General Court to put atantion on their tax Bills where they have originaly taxed the Lands on that Side the Line where the Pole Lives tho the Line Be-

tween Said Parishes Split Through mens Farms & if so to Setlee the Line Betwixt them." But the vote was against this, at the time "because the vote we rec'd from ye North Parish was not a Greeable to ye Intention of the warrant."

At the meeting in January, 1762, the inhabitants were asked if they will "Chuse a Com:tt to joyn with those of the North Parish in Preambulating the Line Between sd Parishes from Phyllips Bridge to Lynn Line as they were originally Sett off."

The Committee appointed to take under Consideration a Petition of the Agents of ye South Parish in Danvers Make the following Report, Viz: The Committee to whome wase Referred the Petition of the Agents of the South Parish in Danvers praying the Line between the two Parishes in said Townes formerly Settled may be Established the Late Running of the Same as Reported by a Committee appointed by this Court in June Last Notwithstanding Have attended that Service fully heard the Parties Examined the origenial Settlement of ye Line by order of the Town of Salem when first Set off and afterwards by them Confirmed, beg Leave to Say that notwithstanding the Report of the Comittee aforesaid which we apprehend was agreeable to the order of this Court in their appointment yet as we find that Strictly adhearing to a west Point of Compass the variation allowed which this Committee was Directed to observe will Carry the Line of the two Parishes at a Distance from where it was first Established by known Bounds which Still Remain & to which each Parish have held and Taxed the Inhabitants and Lands accordingly for the Space of Sixty years and upwards and will also Includ a number of Families to the North which have always been accounted a Part of the South and are unwilling to be Removed from that Society to which they and their Predecessors have belonged & where they have attended the Publick worship accordingly. Your Comittee therefore Report as their opinion that the Line between the two Parishes afr.sd. be Established and as Discribed in the Report of a Comittee appointed by the Town of Salem for that Purpos May the 16, A.D. 1700, be hereafter accounted the Line between the Two Parishes in Danvers all which was unanunously Agreed to by the Comittee and is humbly Subscribed Benj:a Lincoln. Pr. Order.

In Council Febourary 7th, 1765, Read and Accepted and ordered that the Line Established & Discribed in the Report of a Committee appointed by the Town of Salem May 16, A.D. 1700 be, and hereby is Established as the Dividing line between the North & South Parishes in Danvers any thing in the Report of the Comittee Appointed in June Last to the Contrary notwithstanding and that the Charg of the said Committee amounting to £6-16-7 be born by the North Parish.

Sent Down for Concurance, A. Oliver, Secretary. In the House of Representatives February 7, 1765, Read & Concur:d James Otes, Speaker Pro:t. Consented to—Francis Barnard. A True Copy Examined

In March, 1762, it was "Voted that there be a Liberty Given to a Number of ye Inha: to Build Horse Stables on the Parishes Land Dureing the Parishes pleasure and that the Seting of Said Stables is to be regulated by the Com:tt Chosen to take Care of Incroachment."

In March, 1763, it was "Voted Jos. Stacey to ring ye Bell. Exclusive of Nine a Clock att Night and to Sweep the Meeting House & to have forty shillings reward to be paid out of ye Treasury." At an adjournment of this meeting it was "Voted that in Consideration of ye sd Jos. Staceys preforming all ye Duty of a Saxton Except ringing the Bell att Nine a Clock att Night he Shall have three pounds for his Service this year." There is no record of anything paid to Widow Mary Goldthwait.

The warrant of this year asks the inhabitants "if they will Defer Clabording the MeetingHouse att present or rais Mony in Consideration that Many Incline to build a Steeple." At a meeting the following year, June, 1764, the inhabitants were asked "what may be thought Proper Concerning Enlarging ye Meeting House Either by Adding to the Body of sd House or by building a Steepel & Poarch." This was voted down at the succeeding meeting. Isaac Reed was chosen "Saxton" at this time, and was to be paid three pounds. Two weeks later at another meeting, it was "Voted that the Parish Com:tte be Hereby Impowered & Desired to Consult some Skilful workmen Concerning Enlarging the Meeting House in the Several

ways proposed and as Near as they can What Each way will cost and make Repoart of the same at the adjournment of this meeting." And on July 9th it was voted to "open the meeting House from or Near the Midle & move the west Part Westward not Exceeding 16 Feet. Voted that the Parish Comity (Viz) Jasper Needham, Ezikel Marsh, Eben:r Jacobs, John Epes & Malachi Felton be hereby impowered & Desired to admit Such a Number of Persons Inhabitatants of sd Parish as they shall think most Meet to Have the Pewes that May be Made by Enlarging sd Meeting House and that said Comite take Sufficient Security of the Persons so Admitted that they be at all the Corst of Dividing the Meeting House & filling up the Vacancy Makeing or Removeing the Pulpit & finishing all the work to the sattisfaction of sd Comite and thereby Save the Parish from Corst & Charges about the Same, and in Consideration hereof the sd admitted Persons Shall have the Pewes to them & their Heirs as the other Pewes in sd Meeting House are & the East & West Doors be Shut up and that the Admitted Persons Shall have both the Room of Shuting up the Doors & the other Room on the Floor Made by sd Adition to Build Pewes upon."

On August 28, 1764, the Parish voted to add 20 pounds to Mr. Holt's salary but Mr. Holt's letter in the Parish Record says "In Consideration of Twenty Pounds Voted on the 10th of Sept, 1764 by the Inhabitants of the South Parish in Danvers in addition to my Yearly Salery so long as I carry on the work of the Gospel ministry among them—I do hearby Discharge the above said Inhabitants from Twenty Pounds Voted by them in August 28th, 1764 which was by some supposed to be Illegal. In witness whereof I have hereunto Set my hand this 10th of Sept. 1764. Nathan Holt." The explanation followed "Whereas there was a Meeting of the Inhab: of the South Parish in Danvers on the 28th Day of August Instant the warant for sd Meeting was Dated August 23rd—and as it is Said by Some Persons that it was not a Leagual warning—Therefore the Inhab:ts of sd Parish are hereby Notefied to Assemble together at ye Meeting House in

sd Parish on Monday the 10th Day of September Next at 3 of the Clock after Noon to See if the Inhab:rs will Add Twenty Pounds to the Rev. Mr. Nathan Holts Sallery by way of Tax on the Inhab:ts So long as It Shall Carie on the work of the Ministry Amongst us or for this Present year or any other Sum the Inhab:ts Shall think Most Meet. Danvers August 31-1764." And at the following meeting, 20 pounds was again voted to Mr. Holt.

The warrant for the Sept., 1765, meeting asks the inhabitants to consider if they will "Plaster the Meeting-House overhead & what Meathood they will take to do the same also to see if they will accomodate Seets in the Front Galery for a Number to Cary on ye Divine Exercise of Singing & to Dispose of ye Pew on the floor also to Consider the Petition of Zech. King and others for ye Hindermost or wall Seet on ye new floor in the front Galery also the Petition of Sam:ll Lyndsey & others for the next Seet adjourning in sd Front Galery also to See if ye Inha: will Give Thos: Gardner Leave to Move ye front of his Pew Equal with ye other Pews and to See if they will make any addition to the women's Seets or any thing els ye Parish Shall think Best respecting any of ye Seets also to See if ye Inha: will Give ye Proprietors of ye new Pews Leave to Cut windows against their Pews att ye East & West Doors att their own Cost." The inhabitants voted "to Plaster the MeetingHouse overhead & under the Gallery & Leave the Care of ye Same with the Parish Com:te. Voted to Leave ye affair of ye Seets to ye DiscreSSION of ye Parish Com:tt and to Sell the Pew Colled the Singing Pew to the Highest Bidder & to Leave the Sale of it with the Parish Com:te. The two Petitions for Seets be Dismissed att Present. Voted that Thos. Gardner have Liberty to move the front of his Pew att his own Cost Equal with the other Wall Pewe. Voted that ye Proprietors of ye New Pews have ye Liberty to Cut or make windows att the East & West Doors att their own Cost & to be ordered by the Parish Comit:te for the Bigness."

The warrant of October 24th, 1765 asks the inhabitants "to see if thay will take the Tarret off ye Meetinghouse

or Give Leave for the Same to be done also to See if they will make two Doors to pass up into ye Gallarys by Moving the Stairs or whither they will give the room that may be made by remooving to Such Persons as are near adjoyning in Case they will be att ye Charge or what may be thought best to be Done respecting the Same." At the meeting, a week later, it was "Voted to take ye Tarret of from the Meeting House and to Give the Tarret to Amos Trask if he take it and close the roof tite excepting what Belongs to ye Bell and ye Spindel or vain." Permission was also given to open two doors, and to leave the affair to the Parish Committee.

The five men on the Prudential Committee were also the assessors. The warrant of March 6th, 1766, asked "to Consider ye Request of Mr. Gideon Foster for Some further reward for plastering the MetingHouse than what was agreed for: also to Consider ye Petetion of Jos. Osborn Junr: & Thos. Whitredge for the Hindermost Seet on the mens Side Below and what More Can be Spaird: also to See what Method they will take to make and repair ye Seets in the MeetingHouse: also to See what Method they will take to Confirm a Title of a Number of the first Division of floor Pews in the MeetingHouse; also to Consider ye petetion of Jos. Stacy for Som feets of Land adjoyning to his Dwelling House at ye East Coming Six feet South from ye Corner and to Extend Eighteen feet Easterly & to See wt they will allow their officers."

At the following meeting it was voted to give Gideon Foster twelve pounds more for his work on the meeting-house than was first agreed upon. But this vote was reconsidered, and he was given only eight pounds more. Joseph Osborn and Thomas Whittredge were denied the seat they asked for. It was also "Voted that the Parish will Defend a tryal on account of ye Taxes laid upon a number of ye Inha: of this Parish if Strained for by the North Parish." (First Church, Danvers.)

The Church was the repository, at times, of strange things, quite unconnected with religion, probably because it was the only building in the village large enough for such purposes. The Danvers Records of 1765 report that

the town voted to remove the gunpowder, about 100 pounds, from under the pulpit of the South Meeting-house. It was also voted to build a powder house on Buxton's Hill, or some distant place and remove the powder to that place. However, the Powder House was eventually built on Tremont Street, next to the Prescott Cemetery on the N.E. corner of the Poor cemetery. It was built of brick and shaped like a pepper pot. When the Poors bought the land for a cemetery in 1810, the town reserved a Right of Way "wide enough for a wheelbarrow" from the street to the Powder House. After Monumental Cemetery was established, the Poor cemetery was given up, the bodies being moved to the new cemetery. The Powder House was removed about 1850.

On April 26, 1766, Mr. Thos. Porter and others asked for liberty to build a room for the convenience of schooling children somewhere on the land granted for the church. This was denied by the vote at the meeting, because "it is our oppinion that none of ye Lands Granted by ye Town of Salem for the Setting the MeetingHouse on and to ye accomadating the Same be granted to any private person whatever." Joseph Stacy's request was also denied. The ownership of the pews was very carefully defined. "After Carefull Inquirey & Examination of the records Concerning the Pews we find that Daniel Epes Esq: David Foster John Jacobs, Daniel Marble & Samuel Cook, March 21st, 1736 were Chosen, appointed & fully Impowerd to regulate & Settle the whole affair of floor pews in that year to be Built but we dont find that what said Com:tte did in that affair was ever Layd before the Parish for their acceptance & Conformation yett Nevertheless we find by entrys made by sd Com:tte of their doings therein That of Right said Pews ought to be confirmed to the Persons following & to their Heirs and Assigns forever (Viz): that ye Pew Next adjoyning to the Pew Granted to ye Rev:nd Mr. Prescott to Ezekiel Goldthwait Decsd the Next to that to Mrs. Hannah Small as Wid:O of Sam'll Small & to ye Children of the sd Samuel the Next to Wm. Osborn ye Next to Samuel King ye Next to John Jacobs the Next to Wm. Shillaber Decs. ye Next to

Ezekiel Marsh Decs: & the Pew Next to that lately Granted to Sam:ll Felton ye Next to Sam:ll Cook Decs—ye Next to Jonathan Kettle Decs; & Jos. Osborn ye Next to John Procter ye 3rd, Decs; Voted ye above report be accepted & that sd Pews being ten in Number be Granted & Confirmed to the Persons Names in sd report and to their Heirs and assigns for Ever.

Com:tt { Daniel Epes Esq;
 { Sam'll King
 { Jasper Needham

The matter of the parish bounds was then taken up, and "We the Subscribers being Chosen a Com:tt by the North & South Parishes In Danvers to renew and Settle Bounds Between sd Parishes as it was Sett off & Setled by the Town of Salem in the year 1700 and Confirmed by the Great & General Court February ye 7th 1765 we have done as following (viz). Beginning att Phyllipses Bridge so called & from thence a Strait Line to a heep of Stones where Jos. Popes Lento Stood which was att the Southerly part of his Barn and from thence on a Strait Line to Lynn Line Seventeen Poles and four feet South of the Seven Mens [Selectmen] Bounds so Called. Dated Danvers April ye 25th, 1766.

Dea. Mallachi Felton	}	for the South Parish
Jasper Needham		
Nathanel Felton		
Stephen Procter		
John Procter Junr.		

{	Lieut. David Putnam	for the North Parish.
	Ebenz. Goodale	
	John Nichols	
	Lieut. John Preston	
	Doct. Sam:ll Holten junr;	

The above named Was the Committee.

Voted that ye Parish Com:tt Confer with the Com:tt of the North Parish respecting ye taxing over ye Line in Each Parish & make report to the adjournment of this Meeting."

Reversing their opinion of the previous meeting it was "Voted Liberty to Build a School House on Som of the Land Granted to Build the MeetingHouse on. Voted to Leave the regulations of Building a Schoolhouse with ye Parish Com:tt to be laid Before ye Parish att the Adjournment." This is the little schoolhouse shown in Gideon Foster's painting of the Square in 1826.

"On the Petetion of Capt Israel Hutchinson Benj:a Porter ye 3rd and others Inha: of sd South Parish in Danvers praying they may be Sett off to the North Parish in Said Danvers where they Say they have a Great Desire to be joyned. Therefore: Voted that we Cant Consent that ye above Said Petitioners Should be Sett off for the Following Reasons (viz) because we think yt ye North Parish is as able if not abler to maintain their menister without sd Petitioners assistance as we are in ye South Parish with ye Petitioners assistance Because we have a Considerable number of the People Called Quakers Some Churchmen¹¹ & Some Baptises which takes off near one Sixth part of our tax to ye Minister therefore all things Considered we Cant Consent that the above said Petitioners Should be Sett off to ye North Parish. The Petitioners are pleased to say in their Petition that the Inha: of the South Parish are vehemently persuing Schemes against their Intrest to which we say we know Nothing of, we have Never Seen but what the Petitioners have been used with as much Lenety and that they have Received all the priveleges Equal with any other of the Inha: of Said Parish."

At the meeting on March 16, 1767, it was "Voted to give Gideon Foster four pounds mony to make Good ye first vote to him on ye 17th of March, 1766." In March, 1769, Joseph Stacy, the "Saxton" was voted "to have Three Pounds money for his Service in Case he perform the same." The warrant this year asks if "the Inha: will do any thing respecting a Seet for the Negrows in Said MeetingHouse" and it was voted to leave the affair

¹¹ Church of England adherents.

to the discretion of the Parish Committee. Evidently Joseph Stacy did not perform his service as desired, for in 1771 his salary was reduced to 2-13-4. This year it was "Voted to Purchase two Bureal Cloaths a Large & a Smaller one and that it be Left with the Parish Com:tee to procure them as Cheap as they can with Deasency." John Upton, Dudley Porter and others petitioned this meeting "for the Priveledge to Build them A Seet Back of ye Choristers Seets as the other Hindermost Seets are Built" but it was voted down, as was a similar petition. The church was growing as these requests for seats and a recent collector's list containing 248 names shows. So at the next parish meeting it was "Voted to widen the Meeting House fifteen foot on the Back Side of sd. House with this Proviso that the Wall Pews remain Wall Pews Still and that the Body of Seets be Removed to the Same Stacion forward as they now Stand in the House and that the Petetioners Shall have the floor Room that the altara-tions Maks to Build them Pews on as the other Pews are Built Sd Petetioners is to Make the House as Strong and Good as it now is and to Claboard the Back Side of ye Addition of Both Ends and to Build Three Seets on each Side of ye addition in the Gallary for the Benefit or use of the Parish Said Petetioners Giving Sufficant Security to the Parish Com:tee to accomplish the Same to their Satisfaction. Voted upon the Whole that the Parish would do nothing at this time respecting Building a New Desk."

Evidently this action caused some dissention in the parish for another meeting was called in May "to see if ye Inha: will allow the Meeting House Timber and Desk to be removed fifteen foot Back on the North Side of ye MeetingHouse Also to see what Method the Parish will Come into to Enlarge the House so as to accomidate the Petetioners and others so that it may most tend to Per-mote the peace and welfair of ye Parish." The members of the parish refused to vote on this article, and another meeting was called in June "to see if ye Inha: will Grant

Liberty to Enlarge the MeetingHouse Six Inches More than the Last Grant and the Undertakers is to Make TwentySix New Pews & to See if they will Chuse a Com:tee to permit such Persons as they shall think Proper to have sd Pews and that Such Permitted Persons Shall be at Equal or Proportinable part of the Whole Cost that has Arisen and that Shall Arise in performing sd. Work." This was granted and the work begun. In July another meeting was called "to see if they Will Build a Steeple at ye West End of the Meeting House as soon as they shall think best." But "it past in the Negative."

In 1771, John Proctor Jr., and Robert Shillaber were the carpenters chosen to enlarge the meetinghouse fifteen feet by moving out the rear of the house fifteen feet, and according to the contract were to take their pay in "long pews." During the progress of the work, Ruth, wife of John Proctor, walked daily from her home (near the present Proctor's Crossing) a two mile journey, to carry hot dinners to her husband and his workmen. Before the work was finished, John Proctor died of fever. The church officials told Mrs. Proctor that the contract must be carried out or the work would not be paid for. Since she was a capable, energetic woman, she continued to direct the workmen until the work was finished. Then Robert Shillaber's share of the "long pews" was paid to him, but Ruth Proctor was told that the contract was not in her name, but in her husband's, and that death cancelled all contracts. Made desperate by the needs of her children, Ruth Proctor went into Town Meeting and appealed for justice. Being a woman, she had no rights in civic affairs. The men listened in silence, then showed her the door. But after her departure, they voted that she should be paid for the work, and the church was forced to pay her. These facts were told by Mrs. Lydia (Proctor) Thacher to Miss Fannie Gay in 1924. The story had been handed down in the Proctor family from generation to generation.

NOTE: This history will be continued by Mrs. Buxton in a book which the descendants of South Church families expect to sponsor.

EARLY AMERICAN TRADE WITH MAURITIUS

By A. TOUSSAINT, B.A., Ph. D.¹

This brief account of early American trade with a little island in the South Indian Ocean, once important in world history but now very much forgotten, is based mainly on archive material preserved in the Mauritius Archives. Occasional references to this trade are to be found in a few publications by historians of American commerce, and also in Milburn's *Oriental Commerce* and Macpherson's *Annals of Commerce*, but, on the whole, very little has been written so far on it and a comprehensive survey of it is still lacking.

The earliest relations between the colonies of North America and lands in the South Indian Ocean seem to date back to the second half of the 17th century. About 1685, when European powers began to form permanent settlements in the West Indies, the pirates and buccaneers of these islands transferred their headquarters to the South Indian Ocean where they set up a kind of pirate state known as *Libertalia* in northern Madagascar, in the bay of Diego Suarez. Among the founders of *Libertalia* was an American pirate, Thomas Tew, who, after making a fortune in Madagascar, lived for some years in Rhode Island but was finally killed as a pirate in the Indian Ocean. At an early date American merchants entered into commercial relations with the Madagascar pirates under the auspices of the Jolly Roger. According to Charles Johnson, several American ships called there to take slaves in the last years of the 17th century, in particular ships belonging to Frederic Phillips, of New York.

One of Phillips' captains, named Samuel Burgess, turned pirate himself. When he came back to New York after spending two years in Madagascar, he married one of Phillips' relatives (his own daughter, according to some authorities), and between 1700 and 1703 he led

1 M. Toussaint is the Archivist of the Island of Mauritius and is now working on an extensive account of the trade relations of the Island with America. — EDITOR.

to Madagascar three expeditions financed by Phillips, which brought him a handsome profit. Another American pirate connected with this trade was John Halsey, a close friend of Burgess. Both died in Madagascar and have found a niche in Johnson's gallery of famous pirates. From Robert Quarry's letters, now preserved in the Manuscripts of the House of Lords, it would appear that Pennsylvania merchants also had a share in the trade with the Madagascar pirates at the end of the 17th century. When the French settled permanently the neighbouring islands of Mauritius and Réunion, then known as Isle de France and Bourbon, pirate activities in Madagascar declined, and by 1730 came to an end. With the pirates American merchants also disappeared from the Madagascar scene and did not reappear until much later.

The treaty of amity and commerce signed by France with the American colonies at the outbreak of the War of Independence reopened Madagascar to American activity. On 21st October 1778 the governor of Isle de France instructed the French agent in that island to receive well any American ships that might call, but there is no evidence that the States sent expeditions to Madagascar during the war. Just after the war, however, we find that the Hungarian adventurer Benyowsky, after failing to settle Madagascar in 1774-76, with men and funds from Isle de France, turned to America for support. In 1784 Baltimore merchants sponsored his second attempt which eventually ended in disaster. Thereafter, it does not seem that American traders tried to secure a foothold in Madagascar until 1830 when they set up commercial houses in Majunga and later on in Tamatave. As for American diplomatic activity in that country, it did not begin until 1867. At the time when Baltimore merchants were investing capital in Benyowsky's schemes, other Americans were turning their attention to Isle de France which, after the outstanding part it had played on the Eastern theatre of the War, was then becoming known as the "star and key of the Indian Ocean."

As early as 19th May 1784, Robert Morris wrote to Lafayette requesting his exertions for establishing a free

port at Isle de France. "I consider it as almost certain," he said, "that America will find it more advantageous to trade with that port than to go to India; and hence I draw one very strong inference; that we should not only be by that means brought into closer political connection with France, but that France would hold a much larger share of all of our commerce, than she should without such an establishment." Since 1769, when the Oriental trade of France had been laid open by the suspension of the privilege of the French East India Company, the commercial activity of Isle de France had much increased, rising from only 78 arrivals in 1769 to 252 in 1783. In 1785 a new Company was established with the privilege of an exclusive trade to all countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, except, however, Isle de France and its dependencies. In 1787 Port-Louis, the main harbour of Isle de France was declared open to foreign trade, but long before that date it began to be visited by foreign ships, of which nearly 200 put in there between the years 1773 and 1785.

Early in 1784, New York merchants sent the *Empress of China* captained by John Green, to Canton. This voyage marked the beginning of American trade with China, which, as Professor Scott-Latourette has shown, went on increasing until by 1844, the date of the first treaty between the States and China, it was an important part of the intercourse between the Occident and the Far-East. None of the first American ships that went to China called at Isle de France, but in 1785 Elias Hasket Derby, the famous Salem merchant, sent one of his best ships, the *Grand Turk* to this island on her return from an unsatisfactory expedition to the Cape. Sailing from Salem on 5th December 1785, under the command of Ebenezer West, the *Grand Turk* arrived at Isle de France on 22nd April 1786. There, after her cargo had been sold, she was chartered by a French merchant to carry freight to Canton where she loaded with tea, china and cinnamon, the sale of which in Salem yielded twice more capital than she carried out. In 1786 and 1787, Derby followed up this first venture with two more ships, the

Three Sisters and the *Lighthouse*, which both brought him still greater profit. Encouraged by these successes, he decided to invest most of his money in the Isle de France trade and no sooner was the *Grand Turk* back from her first trip than he sent her on a second voyage, in 1787, with his own son aged barely twenty, as supercargo. After disposing of his shipment at a good price in Isle de France, young Derby sold his ship in Port-Louis for more than twice its real value and bought two ships almost as large with which he proceeded to India, procured a rich cargo of Indian goods and returned to Salem at the end of 1790, having scored a big success. Derby then increased his fleet and soon had more than half a dozen ships plying regularly between Salem and Port-Louis. Out of 151 Eastern voyages made by Salem vessels between 1786 and 1800, and recorded by James Duncan Phillips,² 22 were made by ships owned by Derby, and the Derby expeditions represent over one tenth of all the American ships that called at Isle de France during those years.

Other Salem merchants that traded with Isle de France before its annexation by the British were George Crowninshield & Sons, William Orne and John Norris, Jonathan Peele, William Gray and Simon Forrester. Not less than three Crowninshields and three Norrises visited the island at various dates before 1810, but perhaps the most famous Salem captain connected with Isle de France was Richard Cleveland about whom more will be said further on.

After Salem the next American port to send ships to Isle de France was Boston, whose first messenger, the *Peacock* arrived in Port-Louis on 25th March 1787. Foremost among Boston merchants who traded with Isle de France were the Jacksons and the Lees, while Boston captains of some fame who called there included Amasa Delano, Robert Forbes, Osborn Howes and Trelawny's legendary corsair-hero De Ruyter alias De Witt. Then came Baltimore with a first voyage in 1789, soon followed by many more. Philadelphia followed close upon it in the same year and soon controlled about one third of the

2 Essex Inst. Hist. Coll. LXXIX, 1.

investment in East India voyages. The most important figure of Philadelphia's oriental trade was Stephen Girard who, from 1798, had an agent in Isle de France named Martin Bickham whose correspondence with Girard is preserved in the Girard College, Pennsylvania. Fifth came New York whose ships made their first appearance in Isle de France in 1790. The *rapports de mer* made by shipmasters to the Admiralty Court of Isle de France, now preserved in the Mauritius Archives, show that 87 American ships altogether came from 1786 to 1793. Most of these made successful trips. 14 suffered minor damages from bad weather and only 2 were wrecked.

During those early years American traders had to compete in Isle de France with traders from Denmark, Hamburg and Genoa mainly. The Danes were the first in the field. They had a consular representative in the island long before the Americans appointed one, and were to remain until 1800, the chief rivals of merchants from the States in those regions, though they never succeeded in outshining them. After 1793, there came a lull due to the following causes. When news was received of the outbreak of war between England and France, the Colonial Assembly, which had governed the island since 1790, was in the dark concerning the policy to be adopted towards neutral ships. But in August, having learned that during the previous month the British had seized French goods on board a Danish ship at Madras, it decided to retaliate by confiscating enemy property found on all neutral ships calling at Port-Louis. All American ships that arrived about that time were consequently embargoed. Soon, however, the island found itself divided over that issue, most of the Port-Louis traders declaring against the embargo, while the *Jacobins* urged a stern policy, their attitude being apparently motivated by distrust of English-speaking foreigners, whom they suspected of having dealings with the enemy. But the American captains explained that, though they might look like Englishmen, their sympathies were all for the French Republic, being themselves members of a republic, and finally managed to win over to their side General Malartie, the governor.

and Admiral St. Felix the naval C.-in-C., and early in 1794 the embargo was raised. Only two American freighters, the *Union* and the *Cleopatra*, whose captains tried to evade the embargo, had their cargo confiscated after much litigation in March 1794—a decision which, incidentally, when appealed against in France, was subsequently quashed by the *Conseil des Prises* in April 1801.

The war, which cut away Isle de France from her Motherland, soon produced an acute shortage of essential commodities in the colony. From Madagascar and the Cape few supplies could be obtained at that time. So the only two American ships that came in 1794 had their cargo requisitioned by the Colonial Assembly, in spite of loud protests from their captains and from American residents in the island. In the circumstances it became imperative for Americans to have an official representative on the spot if trade relations with Isle de France were to be maintained. On 29th May 1794, Congress commissioned William Macarty, who had gone to Isle de France some years before as commercial agent, to act as Consul. On 25th November his commission was registered and on 12th April 1795, he was solemnly received in the Assembly “accompanied by a large number of his countrymen,” according to the record of that ceremony. Patriotic speeches were delivered by both Macarty and the President of the Assembly, the flags of France and of the States were “united under the bonnet of Liberty,” and the Americans were hailed as fellow-republicans. In 1795, only 5 American ships came, but, as soon as the news that friendly relations had been reestablished reached America, traders in Salem, Boston, Philadelphia and New York, began fitting out again expeditions for Isle de France. The years 1796-98 were peak years, with a yearly average of about 40 arrivals.

At about the same time privateering, too, reached a peak in Isle de France which was then bidding fair to become a “mighty atom,” capable of inflicting heavy damage on British shipping. From April 1794 to July 1797, not less than 71 prize-ships, mainly British, were brought in by Port-Louis privateers. So American captains had

no difficulty in exchanging the much needed supplies they brought for Eastern goods captured on British Company ships. Most of the articles which they normally could have obtained only from India or China were plentiful in the island, and in those days trade with Isle de France drew American vessels far more than did the British ports of India and Canton. A passage from William Milburn's *Oriental Commerce* may be quoted in this connection: "So numerous and valuable were the prizes taken, and carried into the Isle of France, that the markets were overstocked with the manufactures and staple commodities of the British possessions in India; and American vessels frequently resorted thither to procure them on terms more favorable than they could have obtained in Calcutta." According to the same authority the value of British captures made by Isle de France privateers for 1793-1803, amounted to £2,500,000. American-built ships also found favour with the island privateers and some were bought at a good price to be turned into corsair-ships, while the glamour and profits of privateering lured not a few American seamen into enlisting under the tri-color. American ships also brought sometimes French emigrants fleeing from the Revolution, who had sought refuge in the States or whom they picked up at Bordeaux where they not infrequently called on the way to Isle de France. Passenger movements in the opposite direction were not very important, as the island authorities did not easily grant permission to the settlers to leave the colony.

All relations between France and her colonial possessions in the Indian Ocean having then practically ceased, the people of Isle de France had to rely only upon neutral ships for information as to what was going on in the rest of the world and especially in the mother-country. All American shipmasters were therefore minutely questioned by the local authorities and had to give detailed reports, on arrival, to both the Admiralty Court and the Municipality of Port-Louis. The movements of any British ships they might have met or heard about on the way were carefully noted and the information was passed on to the corsair captains who also used to subsidize informers

from neutral countries for intelligence on British shipping. British authorities in India were quite aware of all this but, on the whole, few of the American ships engaged in the Isle de France trade were molested by British corsairs, the policy of Great Britain being then to conciliate rather than alienate Americans. Since 1788 orders had been issued that America should be treated in the Indian ports as the most favoured nation and in 1794, Jay's treaty opened Indian trade to Americans. This was to prevent them trading instead with the French and Dutch settlements, but, so far as Isle de France was concerned this object was not very well achieved.

Jay's treaty strained relations between France and the United States, but in Isle de France it caused little sensation, as the colony had dissented from the views of the home government concerning slavery and was by 1796, in a state of open rebellion against the Convention after expelling its delegates. Threatened by both the French government and the British, the settlers could ill afford to alienate the Americans by enforcing the enactments that were issued in France to counter-check Jay's treaty, so these received no application in the colony. On the other hand, when business was thriving, they felt they might "squeeze" Americans a bit. In August 1797, they decided to raise import duties and set up, for the first time, a properly regulated Customs office. This measure elicited vehement protests from Jacob Lewis who had then just replaced Macarty as American consul (his commission is dated 1st June 1797, and was registered on 22nd February 1798) and for some time custom duties caused much bickering between the local authorities and the Americans, but otherwise relations remained friendly until 21st April 1799, when news of the so-called quasi-war between the United States and France was received.

This caused at first some perplexity in Isle de France. Though rebellious against the Convention, the local authorities could not ignore the fact that Americans had now become enemies of France. To do this would amount to an act of treason far more serious than the refusal to obey the Convention's orders with regard to slavery. So on

5th May 1799, the Assembly ordered the seizure of any American ships that might call at Port-Louis and issued similar instructions to the privateers. Consul Lewis was then absent, but his deputy, vice-consul Wilt, immediately wrote to the Assembly to say he was informed that the quarrel between France and the States had been settled and to apply for a repeal of the order of seizure. Nonetheless, General Malartic endorsed the policy of the Assembly in a proclamation of 25th June 1799. Shortly afterwards, however, Malartic received the Directoire's decree of 16th August 1798, putting an end to the embargo on American ships and that of 31st July enacting severe measures to repress piratical raids upon neutral commerce by French privateers in the West Indies. He then issued, on 29th August 1799, a proclamation repealing the previous one and instructing Isle de France privateers not to stop American ships unless they were letters of marque. Some privateers, feeling they were being thus deprived of an easy prey, at first protested, but finally obeyed. Similar instructions were again issued on 5th September 1799 and, except for one fight between the *Clarisse*, captained by Surcouf, the most famous of Isle de France corsairs, and the American ships *Louisa* and *Mercury* in Indian waters on 4th January 1800, it does not seem that collisions occurred between French and American seamen in the Indian Ocean during the quasi-war. As for American residents in Isle de France there is no evidence that they were in any way ill-treated.

American traders were not less anxious than Isle de France ones to restore business as usual. On their representations Congress appointed on 3rd August 1799, a special agent named Samuel Cooper to go to the island and arrange a private agreement with the local authorities tending to that purpose. Cooper arrived at the end of December 1799, and his proposals were received with sympathy. On 22nd January 1800, a draft covenant was adopted and the next day Malartic himself, together with the President and two members of the Assembly, left for Réunion to get the Réunion authorities to sign it, too. By the time Cooper returned to the States, however, the Con-

vention of 30th September 1800, put an end to the quasi-war, and whereas only 8 American ships had called at Isle de France in 1799-1800, 19 arrivals were recorded in 1801, 46 in 1802, and from then on American trade with the island again assumed an upward trend.

The year 1800, was also marked by the visit of Richard Cleveland which is particularly worth recording because he is one of the most famous American merchant navigators and also because he wrote an account of his activities in Isle de France. Cleveland's first connection with that island dates from 1792, when he visited it at the age of 18 on one of Derby's ships. The object of his second visit was to purchase prize goods or ships. He arrived on 14th May 1800, on a small boat from Calcutta flying the Danish flag, and was surprised to learn that though America was then at war with France there was no need for him to pass himself off as a Dane, especially as he looked "more like a Cheechee," so one Frenchman candidly remarked to him. He found that the few American residents, who included that extraordinary figure, William Shaler, were quite free and that there was no real hostility towards his countrymen, though they were reproached with ingratitude towards France and partiality for the English. Shortly after his arrival, however, the receipt of a copy of a Boston paper containing harsh comments on some Isle de France merchants engaged in privateering, caused feelings to run high and led to a duel between a Frenchman and one of the American residents, which fortunately had no fatal issue. Cleveland met many of the important people of the island, including Surcouf and Malartic of whom he speaks appreciatively. Regarding the latter however, he reports a most incredible story which was probably told him as a joke: that Malartic had, some time before his arrival, issued a declaration of war against the United States. No such document is to be found in the Mauritius Archives. Cleveland's transactions at the Isle de France were not very successful. When he arrived sales of prize goods were just finished and privateers were on the point of sailing for another cruise, so he had to wait for several months for more prizes to come in. In the meantime he

went to Réunion where he found that the inhabitants were not prepared to sell their coffee at his price. Back in Isle de France he managed to sell his little boat at a handsome price and purchased a ship which he sent to Calcutta for account of one of his partners there, but he failed to secure one of Surcouf's most valuable captures, the Company's extra ship *Armenia*, though he bid 27,450 dollars for her, and he finally departed on 21st March 1801, very disappointed and somewhat incensed against the merchants of Isle de France.

In 1803 trade was just as brisk as in 1802, in spite of the yellow fever epidemic which then raged in North America. Isle de France had been often plagued by epidemics, small-pox especially, of which the last outbreak dated from 1792. So when information about yellow fever was received in April 1803, the Assembly issued several enactments to prevent its introduction by American ships, and even revived a law made during the last small-pox epidemic enacting that any shipmaster found guilty of false or incomplete declarations about the disease would be liable to capital punishment. These precautions proved effective and Isle de France was spared.

At the end of 1803 an important change took place in the government of the island. After coming to power Napoleon sent one of his generals named Decaen to put an end to the republican system and to set up a new form of administration modelled on that of the Old Regime. As he agreed to forget the past and to maintain slavery, his envoy was well received and so, after enjoying a short spell of self-government, the settlers of Isle de France now passed under a kind of benevolent dictatorship which was maintained until the British conquest. Decaen arrived in September 1803, and a few days afterwards (6 October 1803) received the credentials of the new American consul, William Buchanan, whose commission was first issued on 9th July 1801, during the recess of the Senate, and confirmed on 26th January 1802. Buchanan was a popular figure in Isle de France, having married in a family of island merchants. He was to remain in office until 1816, and seems to have carried on well with the new

administration, though General Decaen was a difficult man to get on with. During Decaen's government American trade with the island reached its most flourishing period with 91 arrivals in 1804 and 98 in 1805, that is, an average of about 2 ships a week. The years 1806 and 1807 were also busy years, 48 and 43 ships being recorded for each, that is, about as many as came during the previous peak in 1796-98. According to the records in the Mauritius Archives, American voyages to Isle de France from 1804 to 1807 represented more than half of the commerce carried out by neutral ships with the island. The decline began in 1808 only and continued during the last years of Decaen's government.

The peace of Amiens was but a short truce in the long struggle between England and France. When Decaen arrived hostilities had just been resumed and once more Isle de France privateers sallied out to prey on British East Indian commerce, even more successfully, for some years at any rate, than during the wars of the Revolution. From 1803 to 1810, 167 prizes were brought in. So, American traders found plenty to buy while the supplies they brought were most welcome, as again the island found itself cut off from France, owing to strict blockade of the French coasts by the British navy. British blockade of Isle de France itself did not interfere much with this trade, as it was never very strict before 1808. The real causes of the decline were twofold. The first was the very abundance of goods available for sale which caused a slump in the market. This is evidenced by accounts from various sources. The second was another deterioration of the relations between France and the United States, which began about 1807, and reached its culmination with the Bayonne proclamation of 17th April 1808, ordering the confiscation of all American ships in French ports.

Unlike Malartic and the leaders of the former Assembly, Decaen was not a man to question the validity of orders from the home government. Even before matters came to a head between France and the States he caused in 1803 and 1807, two American ships, the *Despatch* and

the *Alciope* to be confiscated for contravening to the terms of the convention of 30th September 1800. Six more were seized on his instructions, between 1800 and 1810. All these were declared lawful captures by the *Commission des prises* which he had set up for this purpose, and whose decisions were reversed by the *Conseil des Prises* in France in one case only, that of the *Despatch*. On the other hand, if Edward Trelawny's *Adventures of a Younger Son* may be relied upon, it would appear that Decaen showed special favour to at least one American, even during the quarrel between France and the States. This was the legendary De Ruyter, to identify whom, several attempts have been made, all in vain. It is not proposed to repeat them here, but this much may be said: so far searches in the Mauritius Archives have brought to light no evidence regarding the existence of any person that might fit Trelawny's account, nor, indeed, regarding Trelawny's own connection with Isle de France between 1807 and 1810. Yet, considering that much of the material in these Archives is still *terra incognita*, it is quite possible that something may be found some day.

However, though De Ruyter may be just a fictitious character, there did live in Isle de France in those days an American seaman almost as fascinating as Trelawny's hero. He is William Shaler who has already been mentioned *a propos* of Cleveland's visit. The son of a privateer of the American Revolution and himself a sea captain with a fine record, Shaler was a character in whom De Ruyter would have recognized a twin brother, if one may judge from Cleveland's portrait of him: "a man of rare intellectual power, and of such unflinching courage, determined will, and kingly presence, as seemed to adapt him morally and physically to a leading position among his fellow-men." Had he still been in Isle de France when Trelawny visited that place it could reasonably be suggested that he might have served as a model for De Ruyter, but it is known that he left with Cleveland in March 1801 never to return, though he was sailing in the Pacific in 1808. But then, the dates and extent of

Trelawny's own wanderings about the same time are still uncertain.

To return now to factual history, the records in the Mauritius Archives show that commercial relations between the States and Isle de France practically came to a stop in 1809-10 when only 10 American ships arrived, of which number 6 were brought in as prizes by French privateers. Those last years of his government were difficult and trying years for Decaen. In spite of repeated appeals, no assistance came from France, the blockade had considerably reduced the activities of the privateers, the Cape, Seychelles and Rodriguez were in British hands, and neutral ships were making themselves scarce. By 1810 he was prepared to welcome any neutrals, in spite of Napoleon's orders, provided they brought some relief to the situation. This is evidenced by one of his despatches to his superior, the Minister of Marine, dated 27th June 1810, reporting the admission into the harbour of a ship flying American colours but actually chartered at Bristol: "I hope," he wrote, "Your Excellency will not disapprove of my taking no action in this case, because, in our present predicament, we must welcome whatever is brought to us, wherever it may come from, once we are assured that only business is meant."

On 10th May 1810 the first of a series of preliminary attacks was launched by the British blockading forces against Isle de France, and it is interesting to note that its objective was to wrest from French hands the American prize ship *Ocean*, from Philadelphia, whom her captors had run into the Baie du Jacotet, on the south coast, to escape British cruisers. The British landing party that tried to secure or, at least, destroy her was driven back, and her cargo worth about 100,000 Spanish dollars was safely brought ashore, under the personal supervision of Decaen who immediately proceeded to the spot to direct operations. After two more setbacks, however, the British finally succeeded in invading and conquering Isle de France which surrendered on 3rd December 1810. Could it only have held out a little longer its subsequent destinies might have been different, for in 1812 America

was at war with England and it is not unreasonable to suppose that privateers and merchantmen from the States would then have flocked to Isle de France and that they might have reversed the scales, just as during the Revolution the American contribution had enabled the island to defy at once England and France.

Before concluding this survey a few words may be said on subsequent relations between America and British Mauritius. Cleveland's narrative, which was first published in 1843, states that they practically ceased in 1810. This is not quite true. The Anglo-American war of 1812-15 following close upon the conquest, prevented any revival of commercial intercourse with the States during the early years of British rule, but between 1818 and 1823 American colours were seen again in numbers in Port-Louis harbour, after which ships from the United States came only sporadically until 1858-70 when there was another revival. So it seems that American trade with Mauritius did not really cease until after the opening of the Suez Canal, which diverted the main stream of East Indian shipping away from that island. It should be noted, however, that the number of American arrivals recorded after 1810, for any one year never exceeded 36. This was the highest figure, reached in 1863. From 1816 when Girard's agent in Mauritius, Martin Bickham, succeeded Buchanan as consul, the United States were continuously represented in Mauritius until 1911, when the American consulate was closed. The most remarkable of these American representatives in the 19th century was Nicolas Pike (1866-73), author of *Subtropical rambles in the land of the Aphanapteryx*, which is still a standard work of reference on Mauritius. The number of American residents which amounted to 22 at the time of the conquest rose to 75 in 1871, after which it declined until it fell to only 5 in 1931. The last census enumeration made in 1944 records no Americans at all. The chief centre of interest for American businessmen in the South Indian Ocean now is Madagascar which, it will be remembered, was the first land in those regions to attract their forbears in the 17th century.

THE DAILY LIFE OF
MRS. NATHANIEL KINSMAN IN CHINA, 1846

Contributed by Mrs. Frederick C. Munroe

Macao 2d Mo. 24th 1846

My beloved Parents & Sister—

You will be glad to know that I am once more at home, after all my perils and trials in Manila. We arrived here safely in the English bark *Dorothy* on first day evening the 15th inst., after a passage of twelve days which was as comfortable a one as we could have expected, after beating for four days against a head wind and strong current. On the morning of that day, we were boarded by a Compradore's boat, who brought off fruit & vegetables—and by him I sent a letter to Macao to my husband, at a venture not knowing whether it would find him or not. The boat was able to get up, by keeping behind the islands, in narrow channels where a ship could not go, so that at 8 P.M. on first day eve'g, just as we anchored in the roads, the boat returned with a letter from my dear good husband, telling me that he was here. Next morning early, he sent off a fast boat for us, & we came on shore. Mr. Cunningham, a Boston gentleman, came over in the *Dorothy* with us, & to his kindness we were indebted for rendering our passage a very comfortable one. My dear Ecce was *very very* ill for a fortnight before leaving Manila. . . . At one time I had little or no hope of her leaving Manila alive, but thanks to the kindness of our Heavenly Father, her disease (the dysentery) was thrown off, and she had only extreme weakness to contend with. My situation was painful in the extreme—separated from my husband, on whom I had been accustomed to lean in all emergencies since the time when a kind Providence had given me the safe & sure resting place of his excellent judgment & firm decision. She did not gain strength as we hoped and expected on the passage over. Within the last few days she has been gradually gaining strength though slowly, & I now have hopes of her recovery. Our good doctor advises strongly to her going home, and if possible I shall send her, but it will be necessary for Mary Anne to accompany her as I cannot leave



SHOWROOM OF A LANTERN MERCHANT, AT PEKING



MACAO, CHINA

my husband here—his health is so very delicate that my first duty is to be near him, that he may have a home to which to retreat in case of sickness. . . . My husband had just recovered from an attack of fever & was still very weak. Natty had been confined to his room for *six weeks* with fever—and was a perfect little shadow. . . . My husband remained with me a week, & was then obliged to return to Canton; as Mr. Wetmore leaves in the Steamer of the 27th for home, it was necessary for him to be in Canton prior to Mr. W.'s departure. There are two opportunities by which Mary Anne and Ecce might go home. The *Natchez* would afford a good opportunity, if she is not already full of passengers. I think it is doubtful whether they could be accommodated. Our friend Robeson Moore goes home in the *Natchez*. He is in very delicate health. Mr. Sword has also taken passage in this vessel for himself and family—and she touches here to take in the remains of Mrs. Sword. . . . The other opportunity is the *Paul Jones*, the Captain has his wife on board & they are said to be kind & excellent people. . . . After that, I know of no other, as M. could not go without a lady on board.

I found on my arrival many & kind letters awaiting me. I am sorry to find that dear Willie still continues so wild & shows so little inclination to study—How is he to be controlled? I wish that Daniel Smith could have the training of him. It is high time that he was taught to submit to the authority of his friends. I am very much pleased, dear Mother, with the pretty cap thee sent me. It just fits me. The books, etc. have been a source of great pleasure to the dear little invalids. . . . Our good Dr. Watson is very kind. He lives quite near & comes in morning & evening regularly, & often at other times of the day. Mrs. Delano, Mrs. Forbes & Mrs. Ritchie are coming back from their winter's residence in Canton very soon. . . .

I hope I may have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of a letter from thee by the Overland Mail. It arrived 3 days since, & if there was a letter, it has gone to Canton & will probably be down tomorrow. . . . Mary Anne has great firmness, & she expresses her entire willingness to go with Ecce & do everything in her power for her. . . . I am sometimes inclined to despond and conclude that the bright days of my hitherto remarkably sunny life are over, and that only dark ones are in store for me—but this is distrusting the kind Providence of God, and proving what I have remarked

by a friend, that "if the sunshine of life unfits us for its shadows, we are unworthy to have enjoyed it." . . . Dear Ecce continues to improve, slowly, it is true. She suffers no pain & is still bright & active. Her mental powers have developed greatly within the last few months & she is quite too precocious.—The physician in Manila cautioned me against allowing her to read or study too much after her recovery. She cannot bear to be idle a moment—but is always either reading, sewing, writing, drawing, or something of the kind. My love to Willie—& tell him if he loves his Mother, he will do as his Aunt Maria wishes him to, without giving her any trouble. . . . Farewell darling Sister,

Thy own Rebecca

Macao Fourth day, 3rd Mo. 4th/46

My darling Sister—

Four days since, I closed a letter of two sheets to send to thee by the *Natchez* which sailed from here yesterday morning with a fair wind, & will undoubtedly make a quick passage home. The *Medora* leaves China in a few days & will be the last or only vessel sailing for home that we are aware of for some time. As she does not stop at Macao, our letters to be in time, must be sent up tonight. Mary Anne mentioned & I think I did also that we had serious thoughts, or rather I had of sending Ecce home with her in either the *Natchez* or *Paul Jones*. On consulting Dr. Parker at Canton, he gave it as his opinion that the weather here for the next two months would be as conducive to her recovery as that in any part of the world, and that in her present weak state, it would be running a great risk to take her from the physician's care. This decision of my dear husband has greatly relieved me. Last night I received a letter from my old friend Mr. Lowrie, now living at Ningpo, one of the Northern ports, full of pious thoughts, and kind words—and this morning, I was again gratified by a very kind and sympathizing note from Mrs. Rawle. She is a dear, kind old lady, & I wish more than I can express that she & her daughter were living at Macao, instead of Hong Kong. It would be such a comfort to have a judicious & sympathizing & at the same time experienced friend. We are much alone, there being no American ladies beside ourselves in Macao—tho' the English ladies remaining here—Mrs. Stewart & Mrs. MacQueen have been very kind in offering their services—particularly the former. She sends a bottle of new milk for

Ecce every morning, & in various other ways manifests her desire to do us kindness. Mrs. Forbes & Mrs. Delano will be here very soon, & I shall be very, very glad—though I now stay at home constantly and shall probably go out very little, if at all, after their arrival—as I do not wish to leave Ecce—but they will come here & I shall know that they are near at hand, and I can call on them in any emergency. Mrs. Ritchie too, intends coming down in the course of the month, and thee knows what a kind person she is. We have had a short visit from Wm. Moore—he accompanied Mr. W. to H. Kong to see him embark & returned with Mr. Bull by way of Macao, stopping here only two days however. They left last evening for Canton, and soon after their arrival up, I expect my dear husband at Macao for a short visit. Mr. Cunningham of Boston is now with us waiting for the sailing of a vessel to go back to Manila. He is a very agreeable gentlemanly person, & we shall miss him very much. Kiss my dear Willie for me. Ecce often speaks of him & loves him very much. Farewell, my letter is called for. Love and pray for your affectionate daughter and Sister,

Rebecca

My love to our dear Sophronia Page.

Macao 3d month 13th 1846

The question of *sending* or *taking* Ecce home is now a source of great anxiety to us—and the path of duty is not clear either to Nathaniel or myself. It seems evident that the child ought to go home. The state of my husband's health is such that it is very desirable that I should be near him. So that between these contending duties my poor heart is well nigh rent in twain. . . . Mrs. Delano & her husband have just left here; they came to Macao a week since. Their return was hastened by the hope of benefiting their little Susie, who is very ill. . . . I fear there is not much hope for her. We can sympathize tenderly with each other therefore, in our maternal anxieties. Third Day 17th. Mrs. MacQueen called. She brought her little boy David with her—a remarkably fine boy of 8 years old—dressed in Highland costume—kilt & tartan—Immediately after her return, she sent a supply of new books, pictures & games for Ecce's amusement—& Ecce is at this moment reading aloud to Nattie. We have made the acquaintance of our new neighbor Mrs. Barnett (the wife of the Naval Storekeeper) and she and her husband came in and drank tea with us socially

last evening. She is bright and rather pretty—has a profusion of rich brown hair, which she wears in large curls at the sides, and the remainder tastefully twisted at the back of her head—rather a showy looking person & is said to resemble very much Mrs. Brooks' sister, Mrs. Du Blois of Boston, who has just come out and is living at Hong Kong. It is very pleasant to have this lady for a neighbor. Mrs. Delano is a long way from us. She lives where Mrs. Sword did. The house itself is a very fine one, and Mr. D. is having it fitted and arranged beautifully, as he does every place where he lives. Plenty of money with a good & refined taste being combined, there is no difficulty in accomplishing almost anything he wishes.

I went up to see Mrs. D. a few minutes today after dinner, while Mary Anne read to Ecce. I found little Susie out riding in her little carriage, & supported by pillows & wrapped in furs,—a coolie drawing the carriage and the Ammah walking by its side. Her father's love for her is beautiful & touching—He will sit and hold her patiently for a long time—or drag her around the house in her little bamboo chair. . . . How changed are we all from a year since. Then Mrs. Sword was with us, well,—dear Dora too,—now the one has gone home and the other to her long eternal home. . . . I should feel entire confidence, in sending Ecce with Mary Anne and a good female servant, whom I have a prospect of obtaining, that she would have every care & attention that she could have if I went also. Failing this female servant, I think I should send John, who would like to go, and would be very useful in preparing her food at the galley, etc., etc.—& of whom Ecce is very fond. If the wife of the Captain of some desirable ship were on board, then all might easily be arranged. . . . It is very unfortunate that my husband cannot now be with me. I hope, however, he will be able to leave immediately after the departure of the next Overland Mail. . . .

First day, 3d Mo. 29th, 46

. . . On 6th day morning, had the happiness to see my dear husband. He had a good passage down, having left at 4 P.M., and reached here the next morning at 11 A.M., looking very well. . . . Yesterday Dr. Watson brought with him a Portuguese physician, a Dr. Severo, to see Ecce. . . . Dr. Watson confesses himself at a loss to know what to do for her further. She now takes the juice of beefsteak, as she

has lost her relish for simple diet, milk, sago, etc. My dear baby is very well—and grows daily more lovely & interesting. He is very fond of his father and is delighted to play & frolic with him. Oh—it is such happiness to have him with us. Does it not seem hard that we must be separated. I think, my dear Sister, that thee will enjoy having Mary Anne a good deal with thee. The recent trying season through which we have passed, has developed her character most favourably, and many qualities which in the sunshine of happiness & quiet might have lain dormant and unsuspected of existence have shown themselves most favourably. She possesses warm feelings, but unfortunately locks them up too much in her own bosom, and never until lately have I known the best parts of her character. The discipline of life's trials is good for us all. She has uncommon self-reliance and firmness & I will be glad if thee will assist and direct her in her reading. Her education is in many respects, very defective, but she now seems disposed to make every effort to atone for past neglect or rather want of opportunity, as since we have been here, there has been very little opportunity for reading or study. Should my precious child live to reach home, which we earnestly & really hope, she is expecting & depending on living with "Cousin Mary" at Aunt Mary's house. M. has talked to her about her cousin Annie¹ a great deal. I do not know how thee may feel about relinquishing her to Aunt Mary, but you will arrange the matter as you think best. Ecce has been in her chair today to Mrs. Delano's to see Ella Forbes who is a nice little girl of five years. . . .

The *Zenobia*, my husband's favourite ship, and the *Akbar* are also expected shortly & will both be dispatched for home within a month or two. I do not recollect whether I mentioned the ship *Lucas* in my last letter, as a possible opportunity for sending Ecce home—but the accounts we receive of the Captain's lady are not such as to make us willing to trust M. & Ecce to her care. . . . I cannot tell thee how much, how very, very much, I enjoyed having my dear husband with us again. I feel as if I never before knew his full value. He is so kind, so considerate, so self-sacrificing, & has so much firmness & good judgment, that with his support, I feel as if the trials of life might be met & borne easily. . . .

1 Annie E. Kinsman, daughter of Joshua Kinsman, N. Kinsman's brother. She married Manuel F. C. Fenollosa.

Macao 4th Mo. 13th 1846

My dearly beloved friends—

I know that this letter will be looked for with even more anxiety than any of the preceding ones, because it will convey to you the intelligence of our decision with regard to sending home our darling daughter. It was after many painful & anxious deliberations, finally concluded, that I should remain here, and that Mary Anne should go home with Ecça, & John go with them. They are to go in the *Douglas* with Capt. Sumner—Ecça has been improving for the last few weeks, which is an expressible comfort, as it leads us confidently to hope that she may go on board ship, in such a state as to be likely to be benefited by the voyage. We have a fine goat and the promise of one or two more which will supply Ecça with milk. She now goes out every fine day in the chair, and seems to enjoy the rides particularly if she can call to see someone. M. knows exactly what to do for her and John, you know, is invaluable. The *Douglas* arrived here on the 1st. April. Capt. Sumner has used great dispatch in discharging his cargo of rice and yesterday left for Whampoa. His cargo of teas is ready for him and he will probably be ready to leave in ten days or a fortnight. Mary Anne has gone with him to Canton. I was not willing that she should leave China without seeing it. The accounts from Willie are very comforting and pleasant and his letters better than any he had previously written. I was delighted to hear that he preferred buying presents for his dear Mother & Sister with his little savings, to expending them for his own selfish gratification. Oh, may he be spared & grow to be a comfort to the declining years of his parents. None of the children compare in beauty with dear Ecça. I fear I have loved her too well. She says give my love to Grandpa, Grandma and Auntie and tell them I expect to come home very soon. She seems much pleased with the idea of going home. She is a very interesting companion. Dr. Watson told me this morning that he has no doubt by the time she has been to sea a month she will be comparatively well. . . .

Mr. Gilman has been stopping here. He is from Exeter—has been in China *eleven years*—a partner in the house of Russell & Co.—returns home with a large fortune. Mr. Spooner—another partner of Russell & Co., & Capt. Dumasque also go by this mail. Happy—happy people! how I envy them returning to their dear native land with fortunes sufficient to satisfy almost anyone's ambition. . . . Mary Anne

is still in Canton waiting an opportunity to return. She says "Uncle's room, tho' one of the most pleasant sleeping rooms in the house, is dark & gloomy, and she does not wonder that he gets homesick." The rooms in the front of the house—parlours & dining room, are very pleasant, facing the Square—She is to stay with Mrs. Parker and was to go round there with her Uncle after dinner. I hope she will enjoy her visit, & I think the change will be of service to her. . . . I have not time to write much more, as the letters must go today. Ecce said yesterday—"Mother, I wish the *Douglas* would go soon." I asked why. She replied—"Because I must part with you and I want it to be over." My heart is very sad, but when they have gone I shall feel better. My husband needs my support and encouragement. I know thee, my dearest Sister, and all my family, will feel very much disappointed when you hear that I am to remain another year in China— . . . I went this forenoon to call on Mrs. Forbes who arrived from Canton a day or two since. (She is at Mrs. Delano's) and found her a very handsome, lady-like woman. Her little girl of five years old is with her—a pretty child. She brought out also a little boy older—but sent him back home again by the same ship. I found poor Mrs. Delano very sad. Her daughter Susie is no better. . . .

Canton 5th Mo. 19th 1846

My dearly beloved Mother:

. . . Mary Anne & Ecce with John left us on the 28th of 4th month, three weeks ago today, in the *Douglas*, Capt. Sumner, for their dear native land. The trial of parting with her was almost more than I could bear. At the date of my last Overland letter, Mary Anne was in Canton. She returned with my husband to Macao on the 24th, appearing to have enjoyed her visit. On the morning of third day, the 28th, my husband, Natty & myself accompanied Mary & Ecce on board the *Douglas* and after remaining about two hours, arranging the baggage, etc., we bade them adieu with aching hearts. . . . In one year more, we hope and expect kind Providence permitting, to leave China ourselves, and I shall do so without a single regret, although I have endeavored while here to be contented and enjoy my situation which afforded many comforts and advantages . . . Nathaniel remained with me in Macao ten days or twelve, and then I came with him to Canton, taking Natty and Abbott with me. I have been here ten days and if the children continue well,

I propose to remain a fortnight longer. I am glad to be here with Nathaniel. . . . I prefer being here to being in Macao, it is so much less lonely. I long, dearest mother, to show thee my darling Abbott—he is a fine boy, and I feel sure thee will love him as well as either of the other grandchildren. Natty is sitting near me on the sofa amusing himself with his *sewing*. He has a regular work basket—with needles, scissors, etc. I encourage him in these quiet sources of amusement. He cannot yet read.

I have been out on the river in a large boat several times since I have been here, with my husband and Wm. Moore. This is the customary recreation after dinner, as there is no good place for walking except the square, in front of the factories, which is very limited. People go up the river some distance, anchor the boats, and enjoy the pure & delightful air for an hour or two and then return home. The boat in which we go is called a Hong-Boat, used for visiting the Hongs or Chinese places of business. It is covered—and seems like a little room—Abbott enjoys running about the Square with his nurse, playing with some little kids which we brought up with their mother, a nice goat, for the sake of having pure milk for him.

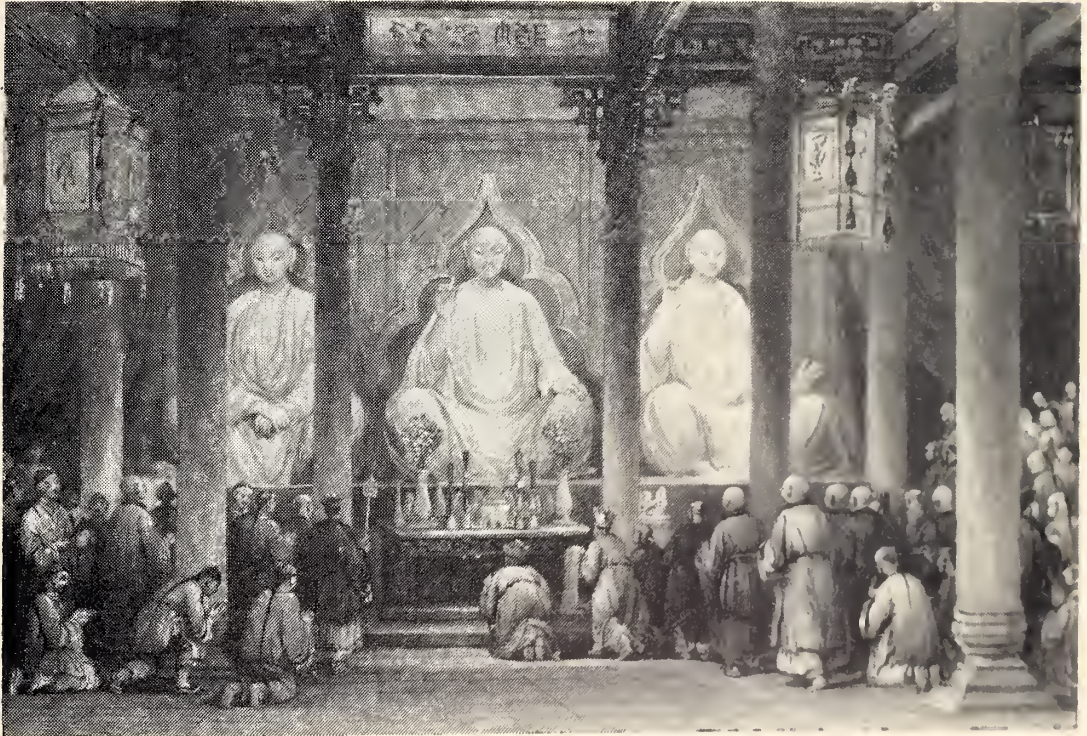
5th Mo. 22nd. When thee reads this, my dear Mother, I trust the *Douglas* with her precious freight, will not be far distant. She may be expected to arrive home early in the 9th month, or possibly the latter part of the 8th month. Oh—how anxious we shall be for news from her. Sophia Hawthorne's idea, or impression of this climate is rather exaggerated—I never saw any such effect on the children here as the "Yellow Skin," or heard of it. After children are 7 or 8 years old, their growth becomes too rapid & like tropical plants, they shoot up beyond their strength & become thin & pale—but for young children I consider it a healthy climate. Ecce was old enough to go home, and I should not feel willing to keep Natty here longer than another year.

Dear Sister Annie remarks that there is much trembling (?) for me, lest my manner of life here may unfit me for the quiet life at home. Oh how little my friends know me. How little they know the intensity of my longing for home, and its quiet, calm comforts—for that dear Pine St. Meeting² and the home gathering on First day evenings at the paternal mansion. You must not suppose that there have

² Pine Street Meeting House was the Quaker Meeting House in Salem.



MERCHANTS' LORCHAS EMPLOYED IN CANTON RIVER



GREAT TEMPLE AT HONAN, CANTON

been no trials to encounter. We have had some things to trouble & annoy us greatly, but while my husband & myself could sympathize with each other, they were easily borne & I have preferred to dwell in my letters on the bright & pleasant parts of my daily life & I have certainly much to be thankful for. But do not for a moment think me changed except it be in increasing love for home & all its dear associations. The articles of silver, dearest, are bespoken. Thee did not say anything about the pattern thee wished them but I thought thee would like them as I should. . . . I do not know but thee might have preferred them plain. As the duty on silver is very heavy, I think it will not be best to send them home until we come. Sister Annie would enjoy seeing these pretty shops & curious articles, I intend to bespeak the articles of China ware, to match Mother's set, while I am here, if they do not cost too much. I have an idea they will be very expensive.

Canton 6th Mo. 16th, 1846 Third day

What! still at Canton? my dear Sister will exclaim on reading my date—yes, my beloved friends, I am still here & have been here for five weeks. We are now in hourly expectation of the arrival of the Mail, which we hope will bring us tidings of the *Douglas* arrival at Anjar, and of the welfare of our beloved daughter. . . . I do not know how to account for the non-appearance of the letters (from home) . . . No letters have ever yet failed of reaching us, which I think remarkable, as they have been sent in such a variety of ways by Sydney, Singapore, Manila, etc. etc. . . . As this is a very leisure time as to business (my husband & Wm. Moore are the only partners here now, & one of them is obliged to be constantly in Canton) it has been very pleasant to me to be with him. Now we are having heavy rains & the weather is dark & gloomy. The Chinese are very apprehensive that their rice crops will be severely injured.

There have been two fast boat robberies between Canton & H-Kong within the last month. There is an island, near which the boats pass, which is infested by pirates or ladrones, & who find a safe hiding place in its recesses. It is said preparations are making to send out steamers from H-Kong to endeavor to capture them. In one of the boats, Mr. West was a passenger with two young Portuguese. Thee may recollect my having mentioned Mr. W. before frequently. He is a young artist who came out attached to Mr. Cushing's lega-

tion, and has been very unfortunate in everything he has undertaken, tho' he is said to be worthy & deserving of success. A friend had recently loaned him a considerable sum of money to purchase a very fine daguerreotype apparatus, just imported from England. He had before been very successful taking likenesses, & we were thinking of having Natty's & Abbott's taken—but his new machine being adapted to landscapes, he was on his way to H. Kong, with a view of taking some of the pretty views in that vicinity. The robbers took everything he possessed—clothes & all & he is completely stripped. One of the young Portuguese was a clerk in the house of Nye, Parkin (?) & Co. & was on his way to Macao to be married—going by way of H. Kong to make some purchases for the wedding. In his fright & alarm, he jumped overboard & was drowned. Was it not sad? It is said many people are going from H. Kong to Macao this summer, & some have already gone from Canton & taken up their residence for the summer.

. . . My dear little friend Mrs. Delano has another little daughter added to the family, now a fortnight old. It arrived very unexpectedly in this world of ours—a month too soon. Strange to say the little Susie is improving under the care of a Chinese physician who has been called in, as all the remedies of the European physicians proved unavailing. The remedies he has prescribed are very simple—mostly tonics & some slight changes in her diet—but the *charm* employed is to hold in her hand the *paw* of a *monkey* (cut off) and to play with a tame monkey. The disease is called in Macao "The Monkey decline." . . . Mr. Delano says the improvement in Susie is very decided, tho' not great but sufficiently evident to give them great encouragement—I hope she may recover, if she does it will seem almost miraculous. Fourth day 17th. Dearly beloved, truly, "when it rains it pours"—my husband came into my room bringing thy welcome letter of April 1st and one from Sister Mary K. We sat down & read these before I had finished dressing. Almost immediately afterward, the missing packet by *T. W. Seers* was handed in—I had such a *feast*. The packet of newspapers from M. Foote & the "Cricket on the Hearth," too. What a dear, good long letter yours was—thee is indeed a darling Sister & thy journal of 7 sheets has given me much comfort. The remainder of the letters have been received & the Anjar report of vessels up to 27th of May. Nothing of the *Douglas*. I cannot help feeling greatly disappointed. Now we must

wait another month, as patiently as we can, unless some ship on her way up, should chance to bring us intelligence. The *Douglas* must have had a longer passage down the China Sea than we expected she would.

Thee mentions that Sophia Hawthorne has never heard of my having received her letter. I am sorry for this, as she must think me very neglectful. I hope to find her still in Salem on my return to the dear old place. I have received from one of the tea merchants since I have been here three small boxes of tea—I am very glad to have it as I wish to send it to some of my friends. . . . The Shawl merchant, Mr. Linking, was here yesterday & I bespoke a silk shawl for thee & myself like one I have been wearing, & which I found very useful, & one also for my dear Mother. This I did at a venture, using my own judgment about the color & silk. This house is one of the pleasantest, if not the most so of all the factories in Canton. Mary Anne will show thee which it is on the pictures you have. The view of the Square & the river beyond is very pretty. I should like to go home Overland greatly—but the expense attending it renders it out of the question for us to think of. Seventh day, 20th. I did not anticipate the pleasure when I last wrote of being able to acknowledge the receipt of a letter from Mary Anne dated Anjar May 28th giving us the delightful intelligence of the improved health of our dear child. Oh what a weight seems taken off my heart, for now that we know she bore the voyage down the China Sea so well, & improved notwithstanding the extreme heat, I think we have good reason to hope & expect her entire recovery. It is very fortunate that Mary Anne wrote this letter beside the other, as that went to Batavia to be forwarded by steamer which my husband thought the most direct way, & we shall be obliged to wait another whole month for it, it being a little too late for the last mail—but an English ship happened to pass the very next day, & brought us this precious and invaluable messenger. Perhaps I did not appreciate the blessing that Ecce was to me, & it is right that I should be deprived of her. I am sure thee will enjoy her—she is so lovely. But do, dearest, be very careful as to her diet.

It is one o'clock. Our room is extremely pleasant—and it is so delightful to be where Nathaniel can step in every now & then & we can exchange a greeting. He is very much engaged today, as is everyone else preparing for the mail. We have had a great deal of damp rainy weather lately, but

now the summer monsoon has fairly set in & we have south-westerly breezes and clear sunshine, though frequent showers fall. Yesterday we had a heavy thunder shower—Natty is always *awed* by thunder, tho' he does not seem terrified. He remarked that he thought he had heard fiercer thunder at Macao. I went to the *hospital* with Dr. & Mrs. Parker³ the first day since I have been here. The doctor has religious services there every Sabbath at half past one o'clock—& any Chinese attend who choose—& most of the Missionaries. There was quite a large number present, among them a few women, and all appeared to listen with respectful attention, tho' on many faces there was an incredulous smile—An old China Man, whom they call the Apostle, & who has a good serious face, read a chapter from Luke's gospel, & then explained and commented upon it at considerable length. This man was one of Dr. Morrison's converts & has since remained firm in the faith. Dr. Parker then addressed the company for a few moments, after which the Patriarch offered up a prayer. It was really quite solemn tho' in an unknown tongue. Several of the females had *small, very small* feet, & one was a well dressed, genteel woman, evidently of the better class. Mrs. Parker told me she attends regularly. A tract containing the chapter read, or perhaps the whole gospel in Chinese, was given to each person. Around the hall were hung paintings representing the most remarkable diseases that had been cured at the hospital. In some cases the patient before & after the operation. Dr. Parker explained them to me. I should think such horrible deformities were never seen in any civilized country—but the Chinese are totally ignorant of surgery & therefore diseases which if taken at their commencement might be easily cured, go on increasing until they become frightful.

After the services, one of the women (a patient) asked us to walk up into the women's wards—we did so—and at Mrs. Parker's request, a very good-looking young woman unbandaged her poor little foot & showed us its deformity. I had no idea how they looked before & Mrs. Parker never had seen one, but she had heard me say I should like to, so she asked

³ Dr. Peter Parker, M.D. was the first medical missionary to China. He was interpreter for Caleb Cushing in his mission to China when the first treaty between the United States and China was made. The Chinese had great confidence in Dr. Parker, who had been in China since 1834. Tyler Dennett—"Americans in Eastern Asia."

this woman. The great toe forms the point of the foot, the other toes being turned or bent down on the sole of the foot—the heel is raised & the middle of the foot hollowed precisely like a *high heel boot*—the ankle enlarged to a deformity—& this they call beauty. I have spoken to several China Men about it, when they spoke of having daughters. They all say “no good fashion,” “but that women likey, so how fashion? Must do”—One man said he always went away, when his wife bound up her daughter’s feet, because he could not *bear to hear her cry*. They say if they were to let their daughter’s feet grow large, when they grew up, they would not like it, but would be very sorry. “They could not catchy so good husbands.” It is very painful to see them totter along with so much difficulty. Upper classes never walk at all. Mrs. Parker says children (little girls) are often brought to have their *ulcerated* feet attended to by Dr. P., but such is their *pride & firmness* that they beg to have the bandages put on again as soon as possible. The importance of small feet is impressed on their minds from the earliest infancy.

Dr. Parker has had several cases of boys lately to be operated on for *hair lip*. One in particular he mentioned the other day—a boy of ten years old. His friends told him if he kept his face very still the operation would be performed very well, and he would look like other people & could get a handsome wife; the boy scarcely moved a muscle during the operation & in ten days he was well & so little disfigured that one would have hardly noticed the scar. Their firmness & capability for enduring pain are wonderful. It must be owing in some measure to their want of imagination & of sensibility & partly to their simple habits of life. The *Strabo* may be expected very soon—I hear she brings out *ice*. My love affectionately to Uncle Philip & the dear Cousins, to Uncle Henry (poor man, how much I pity him) George & Mary, Wm. & Elizabeth—Aunt Collins, Cousin Esther & all my dear friends as if named, believe me thy truly loving sister Rebecca

Canton, 6th Mo. 18th 1846 Fifth day.

My dearly beloved Sister:

By the time this reaches thee, and long before, the *Douglas* will be at home, and you will know whether our dear child is still among the living. If alive, I have no doubt she will be quite well. Oh—my dearest Sister, how earnest are my prayers that our precious child’s life shall be spared. We

cannot expect to hear from you after their return, before the middle of November at earliest & perhaps not before December. I have very little leisure—in the evening, we usually have some visitors in—Wm. Peirce comes in often, & I am always very glad to see him. He is going to Shanghai to live, will go very soon—and will no doubt be a rich man in a few years. At Shanghai the winters are longer & colder & I believe the climate is very healthy. I think it will be a more desirable place of residence than either of the other ports. Mr. Peirce will build a house, directly after getting there, I believe. There are, as yet, no European houses there except those which have been built by the persons who occupy them.

The visitors the other day proved to be Mrs. Devan & her husband, Dr. D., Missionaries. The lady is one of the most pleasing, agreeable people I have seen in China. She is young—perhaps 26 or 27—very pretty & lady like and very well informed. They are real enthusiasts in the cause. Dr. D. sacrificed a lucrative profession in New York, and Mrs. D. was the daughter of a well known editor in New York, quite wealthy, & she had been accustomed to all the elegancies and refinements of wealth. They are now living in a small Chinese house which they have rented, and fitted up so as to make it *decent* to live in—nothing more. They are both studying the language very diligently, & their great wish and aim seems to be to obtain more free intercourse with the people—particularly the females, and on this account they prefer living as they do directly among them. They have two young Chinese Converts, who preach for them & they have Services at their house twice in the week (mornings) beside the Sabbath, and every evening reading of the Scriptures. Mrs. Devan says she expects to spend her life here. Perhaps after being here *ten years*, she may go home for a short visit. She seemed perfectly happy & cheerful and devoted to the cause of enlightening the heathen Chinese. They have no children. Another interruption—it was Frank Hillard just up from Macao. He says he expects to live in Canton now for good. It is rather a warm time to *commence* living here.

Macao First day 7th Mo. 19th 1846

My beloved parents and Sister—

You will perceive by my date, that I am once more in Macao—at home. On the 27th my husband, self & children

with Mrs. Parker came down in the Steamer *Corsair* leaving in the morning at 7 and arriving here at 5 in the afternoon. This was a great convenience as it is often very tedious coming down in a fast boat at this season of the year. My husband remained with us about a week, & then returned to Canton in the Steamer by way of Hong-Kong. . . . The *Houqua* has arrived, but brings me no letters. You probably did not know of her sailing. She had a very short passage. Thy journal of six sheets, I hope will come by the *Montauk* or *Panama*—both were to sail very shortly after the Mail left, not by the *Rainbow* this time, as she is to come by way of S. America—how marvellously short her last passage was 79 days. The account of Phila Yearly Meeting was interesting to me. What a piece of bigotry & injustice to refuse to receive dear Sophronia's certificate. Mrs. Rawle wrote me the other day that she had heard there was a division in the Society at home, & wished me to tell her about it—said she hoped "Cousin Ann Mifflin," who is her particular friend, would write her all about it.

The visit of the English friends⁴ must have been very pleasant. Mrs. Parker is staying with me, which is a very great comfort to me. She is very pleasant & amiable as well as intelligent & not in the least ceremonious, so that all my avocations go on in the same manner as if she were not here. She enters into my occupations with interest, & we enjoy much together. When I last wrote, Mrs. Delano's little Susie was thought to be decidedly better—but the improvement was only imaginary. On the morning of the 30th of June she died quite suddenly at last—& the stroke was a very severe one to the fond parents. The little Louise, Mrs. D's baby of 6 weeks old, is a dear pretty little creature. There is now some anxiety on account of a wet nurse for her, the one they have, is not willing to go home with them. I hope they may succeed in finding one. If they should not, they cannot go—but I suppose there is little doubt that one may be found—there are plenty of them, but they are not generally willing to go to sea. The loss of their society will be to me very great. Arriving, as they did in China, very soon after us, we became soon quite intimate—and have always been warm friends. I fear they will have a rather uncomfortable time—the heat in the China Sea will be very great & in the Red Sea, as well as in crossing the desert. My husband is well & hoping to be able to come down soon

4. Probably English Quakers, who came over to preach.

after the Mail is gone. Everybody's movements depend upon the arrival & departure of the Mails. We have been at meeting—Our Services now are held at 5 P.M.—a pleasant hour. A Sermon from Dr. Hopper & some good singing. After meeting, went home to get "Watch" (whom we are obliged to shut up at home, when we go to meeting) otherwise he *insists* upon accompanying us, & is rather troublesome when there, as he has a great propensity to barking; then with Mr. Parker & Natty, went around the Point, to enjoy the evening breeze. Met several friends there, with whom we sat upon the rocks, & enjoyed the lovely evening. Mr. & Mrs. Delano came home to tea with us.

. . . Abbott is highly delighted with the new achievement of putting words together. Mrs. Parker is trying to teach him to say "Peter Parker" to greet the worthy doctor when he comes down. Ella Forbes lives next door & Natty enjoys going in to play with her, & to have her come in here, which she does very often. Ella is just his own age, & they play admirably together. There is a Mrs. Vesey here now, an English lady, who proposes to take some children to teach. I think I may let Natty go by & by when the weather grows cooler. We are anticipating some additions to our circle this winter—Mr. & Mrs. Everett,⁵ are we presume, on their way, (& the wife of our good Dr. Watson is on her way.) Whether they will live in Macao or Canton is uncertain. Mr. Everett's services will I presume be needed in Canton—but the difficulty will be to find a place to live in—Houses are difficult, almost *impossible* to be found, and rents *enormous*, which with his limited salary, would be unpleasant. Dr. Parker is very anxious to obtain a house, and has been for some time endeavouring to make arrangements to have one built for him, which he is to take on a lease for a term of years. Several times he has thought the matter *all but* settled, when the *Slippery* China Man was off again. He wrote Mrs. Parker the other day that there was a factory to let, the second from the front—of course not very pleasant—rent \$2,000!

I have written all this, & have not told you a word about

5 Alexander H. Everett of Massachusetts was appointed commissioner to China in 1845, at a salary of \$5000. He reached China in October, 1846. He was charged with the general superintendence of the spirit of the treaty between the United States and China and instructed to cultivate the good will of the Chinese government and people. He died in China June, 1847. Tyler Dennett.

the *riot* in Canton! You will see a full account of it in the next "Repository"⁶ which Nathaniel will send home—but will merely say that it originated in a fancied insult which an Englishman (a Mr. Compton) received from a China Man in the Street—he seized him by the *tail* & pulled him into his house—the man made his escape, but almost immediately, a Mob assembled, attacked the house, attempted to set fire to it, etc. The foreigners assembled, armed themselves & went out to drive away the rascals. They fled, but after a short time, turned upon their pursuers whom they assailed with stones, brick bats, or anything at hand—Several foreigners were more or less wounded. The foreigners then fired upon them. Several were killed & wounded and the effect was electrical—they disappeared instantly & not one of the late, noisy, excited, demoniacal crowd, was to be seen. This decided step on the part of the foreigners, will undoubtedly be productive of much good—The rabble will know hereafter what they may expect upon similar occasions—The Chinese officers of the City Government & the most respectable merchants uphold the foreigners—as they say it was done in self defence, and fortunately those who were killed, were identified as being very bad men, of whom the world is well rid. This the Chinese call "A Number one good chance," that it should so have happened that the men shot, were those who ought in justice to have suffered. They (the foreign community) now entertain no fears for the future, (as they are all well supplied with arms & ammunition, and regularly organized as a *Military* body, in case of another attack) except from fire—here lies their greatest danger—but of this, there is no great danger until the dry North winds commence blowing in the Autumn. My dear husband, I am glad to say, was not there—It occurred on the day he left Macao. A body of Americans armed waited on the Missionaries to offer to escort them within the Walls, which surround the factories, as all of them, except Dr. Parker, live outside—but they all refused to leave, preferring to remain where they were. . . . A War Steamer, the *Vesta* I believe (English), was sent up next day from Whampoa, & a guard of one or more hundreds of Chinese Soldiers were sent to guard the factories. My hus-

6 "The Chinese Repository" was a paper published in English at Canton from 1832 to 1851 by Samuel Wells Williams, an unordained missionary, who went to China in 1834 to take charge of the printing press of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. He was later interpreter for Commodore Perry in the Japan expedition.

band wrote me that their presence on the Square was a protection, but they were a ragamuffin looking set of fellows—their employments—drinking, smoking & playing cards—I think if you could see a *Chinese Soldier*, you would agree with me, that he was a burlesque upon the name. Several boats from the American Ships at Whampoa, were towed up by the Steamer *Corsair*—well manned & armed—also many Marines were sent from Danish Ships of War—lying at Whampoa. Happily all is now quiet, and I doubt not will remain so. I pray God that such may be the case. The books & papers from the Mercantile houses were removed to the Chinese Hongs for safety—but have since been brought back again.

A note has just been bro't in from Mrs. Delano. She is as busy as she can be—and wishes me to come up after dinner—I must try to go if the wind will let my Chair remain in an upright position. . . . How happy Mr. Gilman must be to meet once more his friends, particularly his aged parents, after an absence of 10 or 12 years! I hope you will see him, as he has been a very good friend of ours, I hope that Capt. Dumaresq & Mr. Spooner will also call to see you. Mr. Spooner is an excellent young man & one of our first acquaintances in China. Love to dear Willie & I would say to my sweet Ecce also, but that I find it impossible to realize that she *can* ever be with you living.

Macao First day, 7th Nov. 26th/46

My dearly beloved Sister—

Yesterday at about noon, I received a letter from my husband, informing me that he and Dr. Parker intended taking passage for Macao via HongKong in the Steamer, when she took letters down for the Mail. Accordingly they arrived last evening at about 5 o'clock, having passed 24 hours at H-Kong. The Steamer brought joy to other lonely hearts beside mine & Mrs. Parker's. It is very pleasant having Dr. Parker here. He seems to enjoy himself so much, and looks so happy. There is something in the presence of a cheerful, contented person that has a happifying influence on those around—Is it not so? He is reading D'Aubigny's history of the Reformation, and to-day he called me to listen to a eulogy upon *repose & quiet*—being contained in some advice given by the gentle peace-loving Melancthon to one of his own zealous & active friends. The worthy Dr. concluded, if love of *repose* was a virtue, he might lay claim to being very virtuous. He was at the moment lying extended

on a couch, his wife sitting by—a picture of comfort. . . . On first day morning I received a letter from thee. It contained a mention of the death of David Pingree's Son, of which we had not before heard. . . . To-day, we are to have company at dinner—Mr. & Mrs. Bush & Sister & Mrs. Forbes—beside Dr. & Mrs. Parker. I will tell thee about the party when it is over. I hope things will go on well, but I miss John very much on these occasions. Mrs. Parker has made some floating island for the occasion, & she & I together have made some cake. *Second day, 3rd.* Dearest Sis—Our dinner on Seventh day went off very well. The ladies were in good spirits & very agreeable; the company was increased at tea-time by the addition of Mrs. Delano, & Mrs. Gillespie, & Messrs. Lamson, Rogers, Cunningham, Vinton & Oxnard—young gents from Canton—and Mr. Brown & Julia. After tea, Ella Forbes & the little Bushes came in, & Nathaniel with some of the young gents went down in the yard, and set fire to some pretty fire works, crackers &c.—which were presented to Natty at Canton—greatly to the delight of the juvenile members of the party. They were so pretty, that I shall try to bring some to Willie. . . . Busy,—in addition to other cares, this morning, with *Wash man & tailor.* *Third day 4th*—After breakfast, settled my Compradore's account, which caused me a trial of temper, as he is a regular "Squeeze," as the Chinese say—& imposes on me sometimes unbearably—but if we were to change we might get a worse one, they are all great trials. Mr. Vinton came in after tea—this young gentleman is from Providence, & is a clerk of Mr. Bull—a very fine young man. Several more gentlemen have arrived to-day from Canton. Macao seems to be more in favour this summer than usual.

The new Governor has imposed a heavy tax, which if not modified, will be likely to bear heavily even upon the foreign residents here, and is a very unpopular measure. If the law is to go into effect—then & after the first of August, it may drive away foreigners—which would be a pity from this pretty place. But the owner of property (the Portuguese) are very desirous that the law or tax should be modified & they think it will be. The Governor, I learn, is already tired of Macao & has signified to the *Home* Government his desire to be relieved. He came out only in April I think—he has soon become weary. . . . Calls from Clement Nye & Mr. Caesar (not "Julius," as I was at first told). They arrived yesterday from Canton & had a boisterous passage down, being 12 hours in sight of Macao, without being able to reach

it, which must have been very trying. *The Helen Augusta*, the Ice Ship from Boston is into-day—No letters for us—She has had a long passage, & people began to feel anxious for her safety. Mr. Heard (Mrs. Treadwell's Nephew), called at the Ship (at Whampoa) on his way down and procured some ice, and has had the kindness to send us a large piece. The clouds have worn a "*nasty*" appearance as the Sailors say (but I am sorry to use so inelegant an expression) for several days, & some persons have feared a typhoon, but I don't believe we shall have one. While Dr. Parker was with us, he used to ask a blessing at table—and Natty's head was always reverentially bowed, as soon as he saw the Doctor about to perform the duty. When he left, Natty said in a tone of regret—"now we have no one to ask a blessing." The Doctor is extravagantly fond of children—It seems a pity that he is not blessed with some of his own. Some young gentlemen who leave at noon today have been in *separately*, *five* of *them* this morning to say good bye, which has greatly hindered my letter. The ice is most refreshing this warm day—Natty is extremely fond of it, our butter was so nice & hard this morning, that we realized how firm it used to be at home—Such as we call *good* here, I suppose we should hardly consider *decent* there. . . .

Macao Second day Morning—8th Mo 24th/46

My darling Sister—

Thee will be glad to hear that I am not alone—Mrs. Rawle, Mary & Emilia are here—Emilia has been staying with me for several weeks, her grandma & Aunt came yesterday in the Steamer from H-Kong. They will remain with me for 2 weeks. They are delightful people, and it is very pleasant having them with us. . . . My husband had received a letter from F. Webb, at Penang, announcing the death of his Father—a very sad event indeed—poor man—how hard to die so far from home & friends. It must have been a great comfort to him to have had so good a Son to attend him in his last moments. On 7th day morning while yet at the breakfast table, my young friend Annie Deblois came in to put the ribbon on my Neapolitan bonnet, which I have *washed* & *pressed* and made "*amaist* as good as new." She had previously engaged to do this. Mrs. Follen tells me of her proposed plan with regard to Willie, offering to keep him another year with her & to send him to a public school in Cambridge, which she says is one of the best in the country—but says candidly that it will not be possible for her to

exercise the personal supervision which she has hitherto done over him. . . . I feel sorry that thee will be obliged to have charge of him so long—a part of July—all August & September, the part of the year when one feels least disposed for care and exertion—I feel thee will find the care of him for so long, very wearing & tedious but there seems no help for it—I hope thee will send him to school during that time. Mrs. F. says—“My Soul longs for freedom”—referring to the care of Willie. I wish she could take *my* cares & duties upon her (not *soul*) but mind & body for a single week. . . . My dear husband’s health has so far been remarkably good this summer—that is, he has had no attack of fever, & I hope he may escape without one. His friends here say, he has now become acclimated, & that there is no fear of his being liable to them, as he has hitherto been.

. . . What a terrible thing that our beloved country should be involved in *War!* but we hope that it will be of short duration, and that such was the general opinion is evident from the fact that the prices of foreign imports had not risen, which they would have done, had an interruption to our commerce been anticipated. We must wait patiently till the next mail—Oh what an unspeakable comfort these regular mails are. . . . I would prefer in future that you would not send boxes by way of Manila—as Mr. Osborn has a good deal of trouble with them at the Custom house there—They insist upon opening every package, altho’ assured that it contains only newspapers. The one per *Strabo* was opened & examined—and Mr. O. says in a letter to me “I fancy your Sister little thought when she so carefully enclosed the box in brown paper, that it would be opened by a mixed company of Spaniards, Indians & Mestizas.” . . . With regard to dear Willie, I think it is best he should remain with Mrs. F. the remainder of the time we are absent—Haverford is closed, & even if it were not, for *one year*, it would hardly be best to change influences. . . . By the *Chicora* I intend sending a small box of Tea to dear Uncle Philip & one to Mrs. Peabody. My affectionate love to Sophia when thee sees her, also to Mary Mann & E. P. Peabody. I am sorry to be obliged to cross⁷ this letter, but must & say Adieu—with much love, I remain

Thy most affectionate Sister
Rebecca

⁷ Write across the first writing on a page—This saved weight for postage and was almost impossible to read.

(*To be continued.*)

BOOK REVIEWS

THE HAWTHORNES. By Vernon Loggins. 1951, 365 pp., octavo, cloth. New York: Columbia University Press. Price, \$5.00.

This latest book in the Hawthorne saga, is a little different from the usual run of biographies in that it is a biographical sketch of each of the seven generations, including the novelist. Beginning with Major William Hathorne, the first of the Hathornes to come to America and ending with Nathaniel's daughter Rose, who became a Roman Catholic, the book gives admirable sketches of the lives of the men in the direct line to the present time. It brings together many historical facts which have not appeared before in print and is of interest to all who would know the story of seven generations of a typical American family. It is a slice of American civilization, a remarkable study in genealogy and a very human chronicle. Recommended to all libraries.

MELVILLE'S EARLY LIFE AND REDBURN. By William H. Gilman. 1951, 378 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. New York: New York University Press, Washington Square. Price, \$5.00.

The lack of records of Melville's early life has induced this author to dig deeper into the subject and he has come up with a book which is very worthwhile. To date no study has been made of the relation between Melville's early life and his story *Redburn*, the book which seems to picture his youth. All previous biographers have assumed that the book was actually autobiographical, but Mr. Gilman has a new study of Melville's life from 1819 to 1841, using both old and unexplored sources and depending almost entirely upon objective evidence. The new material has certainly warranted both another biography and a revaluation of Melville's artistry in *Redburn*. There are valuable and voluminous notes, and several appendices, all of which complete a most thorough study. It will be received by the literary world as a substantial contribution. The end papers show genealogical charts of the Melvilles and the Gansevoorts. Recommended to all libraries.

LIBERTY AND PROPERTY. By R. V. Coleman. 1951, 606 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, \$5.00.

Mr. Coleman, who is the well-known historical writer, and the managing editor of the "Dictionary of American Biography," has just brought out a new book. Here in a single volume is an authoritative account of the dramatic growth, and the commercial and political development of the American colonies between 1664 and 1765. From settlements along the Atlantic seaboard, a diverse group of people under English rule were pushing westward and making hostile contact with partisans of France and Spain. The result was to be the North American continent. All these finally banded together against the mother country. A dramatic story presented in readable form with many illustrations from famous paintings and engravings. It covers the fabulous century in which the United States was born. Recommended to all libraries.

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